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NOVEMBER 1938

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NUMBER 6

THE NEW AGE

ON THE 21ST ANNIVERSARY OF THE NOVEMBER REVOLUTION

The 21st anniversary of the Russian Revolution falls in the midst of a world betrayal by the Munich Conspiracy and threatened by increasing Fascist aggression in Europe and the world over. It comes at a time when the valiant Spaniards and the Chinese are waging a life and death struggle against the militarist and Fascist aggressors, out to kill democracy and enslave new nations. It reminds us of what would have been and what has actually happened and invites us to assess our victories and failures, on pain of complete extinction at the hands of the Fascist brigands.

The Challenge of November

The impending war of carnage for which feverish preparations are being made everywhere, the slaughter of thousands in China and Spain to satisfy the lust of Fascist imperialism, trade wars, barbarous exploitation of toilers in the sacred interests of Capital, bartering of nations and peoples in the name of peace, ruination and degradation of working class homes and peasant farms-one continuous tale of repression, exploitation, chicanery and political banditry-these form a complete picture of the world situation today. The 21st Anniversary of the November Revolution comes forth as a mighty challenge to this harrowing tale, pointing the way out and inspiring the masses all over the world to exercise their will and strength against the ruling cliques, out to destroy democracy and enthrone fascism.

The 7th of November has become a sacred day for the toilers all over the world. On that day was delivered the first mighty challenge of the exploited. Czardom trembled before this challenge and the ruling classes all over the world tremble at this spectre of a Communist Revolution. The men on the farms and in the factory seized power, established their own state to drive away hunger, poverty and exploitation. With the "abolition of exploitation of man by man" writ large on their banner, the Russian masses became the architects of a new human society, the like of which was never known before. The predictions of Marx, the work of Lenin and Stalin, the dreams of all the well-wishers of human society, became Reality.

Not all the hatred and the greed of world capitalism, nor the pessimstic predictions of the prophets of repression, who saw in the state of the masses a return to anarchy, nor all the counter-revolutionary designs of Trotsky and his gang, could defeat the iron will of the Russian people. The interventionist armies were defeated and routed. Plans for sabotage organized by the agents of Russian capitalists and foreign Imperialists were exposed. And finally, the vigilance of the Russian masses defeated the conspiracy of this Trotsky-Bukharinite gang, laying bare the base and counter-revolutionary roots of Trotskyism.

The Heritage of Humanity

No-all the small and big conspirators against the first Socialist state broke down one after another. Truth began to percolate through the cordon of untruth and vicious propaganda. The monumental achievements of the successive five year plans, the New Stalin Constitution, the abolition of unemployment, poverty and hunger, the cultural revolution that is sweeping forth from one corner of Russia to another, these today stand in sharp contrast to the poverty, degradation, ignorance and superstition of the Capitalist World, to the barbarism of the Fascist States, and

the decline of culture and progress in the rest of the world.

These achievements of U.S.S.R. Conquered during the past twenty years have become the fortress of Socialism and democracy, the fatherland of the oppressed, a beaconlight of the struggling humanity.

The 7th November has shown the path to power and economic emancipation. The Herculean will of the masses, led by a steeled Marxist-Leninist Party of the Proletariat can overthrow empires, and wipe out the infamy of exploitation—that is the one message that has rung all these twenty years, since the first Proletarian State of the world came into existence.

The Call to the oppressed

The conquest of power by the Russian masses was a historic event of international significance. It not only sounded the death-knell of private property and capital, but laid down new maxims of international morality, to regulate the relations of the peoples of the world. True to its mission, as the vanguard of the toilers, the Russian masses, under the leadership of Lenin raised the slogan of "peace without annexation" and "national Self-determination". Raising this slogan of proletarian and peoples' Unity at a time when the world was still engulfed in the imperialist wars of conquest, the Russian masses lit the path for world co-operation, based on the right of cultural and national freedom.

While the victor imperialist powers were engaged in prostituting the slogans of democracy and peace and were imposing a humiliating treaty on the German people, the Russian proletariat emancipated the former oppressed nationalities and openly proclaimed national self-determination to be a fundamental right. The Soviet Government cancelled the former Czarist treaties with Persia and Turkey and once more demonstrated that only a workers' Government could respect the territorial and national integrity of nations. Precept was followed by practice and defence of the Soviet State became linked up with the freedom of smaller nations and colonies. No wonder, therefore, that under the advanced detachment of the world-revolution, the slaves in the colonies woke up to fight the slave-drivers and the spirit of Russian Revolution, began to dominate the world-scene. Turkey, the whole of the middle East, and finally China and India, those cradles of humanity one by one woke like giants from their long winter sleep, to storm the Bastille of Slavery and Oppression.

Colonial nations-began to greet the Russian Revolution as the deliverer from foreign bondage and domination. Every phase of colonial struggle came to be denounced by Imperialism as Moscow-inspired machination.

On Guard for Peace

Ever since the 7th November 1917, the Russian people and the Soviet State have held aloft this banner of international solidarity and freedom of Nations. It was U. S. S. R. which demanded complete disarmanent in the interest of smaller nations and colonies. The demand was turned down by the combination of all Imperialist powers. It was the Soviet people, who steadfastly appealed to Governments and the peoples of the world to stand by collective security, save the freedom of weaker nations, and put the Fascist agressors in a Quarrantine. The demand was again turned down by the Imperialist powers, by British and French Imperialisms in collaboration with German and Italian Fascism. The peoples of the world were not sufficiently active and failed to grasp the vital significance of the Soviet appeal.

It was U. S. S. R. which protested against the Manchurian invasion. It was the proletarian State which demanded sanctions against Italy. Again it was the Socialist masses of Russia that exposed through Litvinov the nefarious game of British, Italian and German Imperialism in Spain and called on the world to rally round Spanish democracy. Only the leader of Socialist Russia-Stalin-openly declared "the cause of the Spanish people is the cause of whole humanity. It was, therefore, natural that Negrin and Caballero, should pay profuse tribute to the Soviet state for helping the Spanish people and enabling

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them to put a dogged resistance to the Fascist armies of invasion. Only the Soviet State has earned this tribute and who can say that this is not fully deserved?

Once more on the Chinese front, the Soviet State has remained true to the banner of Marx-Lenin-Stalin, the banner of international peace and solidarity. It has declared its unequivocal sympathy with the Chinese struggle and unlike other imperialist powers, has refused to aid or abet Japanese aggression. "China for the Chinese" rings the inspiring message of November 7 and the Soviet masses have remained true to this heritage.

For Self-Determination of Small Nations

In the sphere of international politics, the custodians of the November Revolution are carrying forward the revolutionary traditions of Marx-Engels-Lenin. In the Communist Manifesto, Marx declared that the proletariat was the most revolutionary class in modern society, out to destroy all the existing infamies and oppression. The proletariat was the leader of all that was progressive and it had no fatherland in the bourgeois sense of the term. The Second International forgot these teachings of Marx-Engels and its leaders supported the Imperialist war of 1914. Only tbe Bolsheviks with Lenin at their head denounced the Imperialist War, denounced annexations, and declared that proletarian solidarity meant the right of freedom and national self-determination to all the oppressed nationalities and colonies. To-day the foreign policy of the Soviet State is based on these fundamentals--the proletarians of smallar nationalities against aggression, the right of national self-determination to all peoples.

To ensure these principles, the U. S. S. R. built a new peace system in Europe, and concluded a series of non-aggression pacts. It built the famous Franco-Soviet pact to ensure the solidatiry of the French and the Russian peoples against aggression. It offered similar guarantees to Czeckoslovakia and showed its readiness to enter into such a pact with any other country. In the hands of the Socialist State, defence of international peace was synonymous with defence of democracy and freedom. There could be no peace if these latter were threatened, and the U. S. S. R. declared itself in favour of military and economic sanctions through the League of Nations, through the collaboration of the peoples.

The Dyke Against Fascist Aggression

As against this persistent defence of of democracy and national self-determination, what has been the record of Imperialist States and diplomats? Lying diplomacy, sacrificing democracy at every step, sacrificing the freedom of nations on the altar of Fascism, has been the keynote of the foreign policy of the Imperialist States. British Imperialism has become the gatherer of world-reaction, the friend and ally of Hitler and Mussolini, and Mikado's bandit armies. Every step forward of Fascist aggression has been taken with the consent of British Statesmen—the arch-enemies of Indian and world freedom. Every principle is of international morality—collective security, freedom of nations and peoples, integrity of national territories and defence of democraey—all these have been thrown to the winds. The sinister diplomacy of Chamberlain has put in the shade all the black records of the past.

When U. S. S. R. was thundering against the Italian invasion of Abyssinia British imperialism was busy hatching the sinister Hoare-Laval pact and conspiring with Mussolini to divide the spoils of war. It is British Imperialism who has been the main abettor of the Italo-German war against Spanish democracy, the main supporter of the unspeakable barbarities against the Spanish people. Litvinof exposed the force of non-intervention impeached the Imperialist Statesmen in the League of Nations. Unashamed by these, Chamberlain is conspiring to build the Anglo-Italian plot over the dead body of the Spanish Republique.

Socialist *vs* Capitalist Foreign Policy

To blow up the Franco-Soviet system, to defeat the efforts, to maintain the

freedom of weaker nationalities, the same policy is persued everywhere. German aggression against Austria, the sacrifice of the Czeck people to the tender mercies of the Nazis, all these constitute a part of the sinister imperialist game which seeks to repartition the world at the expense of the other peoples. To make this policy of treachery and sabotage palatable to the people, Chamberlain utilizes the slogan of peace ; Hitler speaks in the name of national self-determinatien. Both Hitler and Chamberlain hypocritically spoke in the name of Sudetan Germans to blow up the independence of Czeckoslovakia. The slogan of national self-determination is utilized not to protect democracy, not to protect self-determination, but to impose Fascism on Austria, Czeckoslovakia, and the Sudetan territories. It is utilised to persecute the Jews, to torture Socialists and Communists and to enslave the working class and the vast majority of the masses. The slogan of peace is to utilize, to strengthen the war plans of Hitler, to give him more reserves for aggressive war, and more resources of raw material. Imperialism and Fascism, the arch-enemies of national freedom cannot but prostitute the revolutionary slogans of self-determination, cannot exist without violating every pledge, and every sacred principle of international morality.

The 21st Anniversary of the Russian Revolution once more reminds us of this inherent difference, this wide gulf that separates the Socialist Foreign policy from the Imperialist Fascist one. The world has yet to understand the vital significance of the peace policy of U. S. S.R. a policy which is a direct challenge to annexations and aggression—a policy which appeals to the people to co-operate in the common task of checkmating the Fascist and Imperialist devils.

The U. S. S. R. through its anti-aggression policy has thrown the challenge to the warmongers. The first Socialist state, true to its revolutionary tradition has demonstrated the path of struggle against those who would invade nations or barter them for their own safety. Inspired by this challenge, the masses in France, Spain, China and Britain—are waking up to realise what is at stake. Yet the movement against Fascist aggression is not strong enough to check the enemies of democracy. The Munich betrayal, the Nazification of Czeckoslovakia, was the heavy price extorted from the peoples for their failure to assert their strength.

Line-up in the Army of Freedom and Democracy

We in India have begun to realise that our struggle for liberation cannot be fought in isolation. The diplomatic moves on the European chess-board, the power of British Imperialism to make these moves, are vital factors, shaping the destiny of our nation. We can no longer remain indifferent to the fate of China or Spain, to the collapse of Czekcoslovakia or Abyssinia, or the result of the Palestine struggle. The peoples and nations fighting for self-determination, fighting against Fascism, form together with us the common army of freedom and democracy.

But this realisation is not consistently applied in appreciating the international situation. We as a nation have failed to realise that the U.S.S.R. is fighting our battle on the international front. We have failed to extend full support to the Soviets in its struggle against the designs of Hitler and Mussolini, the designs of Chamberlain and his gang. There are Socialists in this country who take a malicious pleasure in maligning the Soviet and thereby render difficult the struggle against Chamberlain and his clique.

Against Conspiracy of international Fascists

A nation which has unfurled the banner of complete national independence cannot afford to miss the full import of the struggle carried on by the U. S. S. R. Every step forward of Fascist aggression increased today at any rate the strength of the reactionary elements of the British ruling class. Every such step, therefore, is a conspiracy against the Indian Struggle, India's right to national self-determination. Every fight against this conspiracy is a step forward in our struggle, renders British Imperialism

weaker, and increases our fighting strength. The U. S. S. R. is carrying on a dogged and determined fight against this conspiracy. The Socialist masses of Russia, who stand for the freedom of the peoples of the world, are inviting us to join the struggle against the aggressive policy of Imperialist slave-drivers. It should be our revolutionary duty and privilege to support tnis fight and strengthen it by every possible means. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru has repeatedly stated that in the U. S. S. R. in the fight carried on by it, lie the struggling humanity. Let our nation understand this and act up to it.

Just because the Soviet State is carrying on this persistent struggle for the peoples of the world, just because the peoples concerned are gradually realising the high issues at stake, the Imperialist statesmen, led by Chamberlain are propagating vicious lies against the Soviets, and are hatching another conspiracy to isolate the U. S. S. R. and face it with a combination of the Four Powers Pact. Acting as the Gendarme of world reaction, Chamberlain seeks to lead an attack against Russia, the only State which stands for international democracy and against Fascism.

Our Duty

What can be our reply to this new conspiracy ? Shall we allow British Imperialism to conspire with Hitler and Mussolini and lead an attack against ourselves and others like us, who are struggling for national freedom ? There can be but one reply. Our firm stand by democracy and freedom, a firm support of the policy of the Soviets an unmistakable warning to British Imperialism, then its designs against U.S.S.R. will be interpreted as anti-national warfare and be met as such. To Socialists and non-Socialists alike, the international events dictate one path—the path of supporting the persistent struggle carried on by the U.S.S.R., the path of remaining loyal to national self-determination and democracy. Democracy and rights of national self-determination are indivisible. They cannot be sacrificed on one sector and protected on the other.

The recent war-scare fully demonstrated how unprepared we were to meet the situation. Our leaders expected something to turn up and were prepared to leave the path of irreconcileable struggle against Imperialist War. The danger of the whole nation being tied to the war-chariot of British Imperialism was imminent and real. We were faced with the prospect of a complete collapse of war-resistance in spite of our heroic and revolutionary traditions. That was the penalty being extracted of us for not assimilating the lessons of 7th November and the policy based on it. The Bolsheviks overthrew Czardom by waging a tearing campaign against imperialist war ; they retained power by offering to co-operate with the peoples of the world for maintaining peace and national integrity. We can reach our objective only by following this path—the path of international co-operation of the peoples against Fascism and Imperialism the path outlined by the U. S. S. R.

Close the Ranks of Struggle

The November Revolution is not the heritage of the working class, and the Socialists alone- It has become the heritage of all the oppressed nationalities, of evervone who honestly seeks to fight national oppression. This great and valuable heritage demands of us that we, in India, must close our ranks against the common enemy ; that all talks of compromise with the national oppressor must end. It asks us to tread the path of revolutionary struggle, undaunted by repression or tyranny. It teaches us that we are not alone in the fight. There are millions in other countries, claiming the heritage and battering down the bastilles of oppression and slavery. The 21st Anniversary calls up on us to make common cause with the oppressed peoples of the world and rally round the common banner held aloft by the Soviets the leader and hope of all the enslaved nation.

To Socialists, the 7th November enjoins to close their ranks and assimilate the lessons and mistakes of the past. To stand by the U. S. S. R. is to claim the heritage of the November Revolution. Defamation of the U. S. S. R. under any pretext, means the repudiation of the one Socialist Revolution that

has taken place. U.S.S.R. has become the touchstone of Socialist sincerity and understandingg. For the defence of Socialism of U. S. S. R. of freedom and democracy, Socialists all over the world bear special responsibility. Loyalty to Marxism, and Socialism demands of them to close their ranks and assimilate the lessons of the November Revolution. Irreconsilable class struggle against exploiters and international gangsters is the message of the 7th November. The alternative to this is Fascism—that is the plain warning given by the November Revolution.

To the toilers all over the world, the 21st Anniversary brings fresh hope and inspiration when everything seems to indicate retreat and reaction. But the might of Soviet Russia, the successful struggle against hunger and exploitation, beckon a new, to tell the toilers that their strength and might is irresistible ; that it will conquer in the end, that their struggle against hunger and starvation will be decided in their favour.

As toilers and oppressed nationals, let us assimilate these lessons firmly, determined to keep flying the flag of irreconcilable struggle ; the flag of world democracy and peace. We hail the U.S.S.R. as the leader in this struggle and call upon everybody to follow the path lit by the Bolshevik martyrs, by Lenin and Stalin—the path of national self-determination, without which Socialism becomes a reactionary slogan to be toyed with by reactionary labour parties, for supporting Chamberlain and his anti-Soviet gang.

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THE RED ARMY

By C. Kramer

"In the recent clash with Japan, the Red Army has taught a lesson to Japan, and has shown to the whole world its strength and justified the confidence placed in it by the citizens of the Soviet Union.—Ed.]

The official date of the founding of the Red Army is the 23rd February, 1918. On this day a decree issued by the Soviet Government formed the Red Army out of the proletarian Red Guards and the revolutionary soldiers of the Tsarist army. The decree founding the Red Army states: "The old army was a class tool of the bourgeoisie for the suppression of the workers. With the taking over of power by the workers and exploited classes the necessity arose of creating a new army, which is to-day a pillar of the Soviet power, the foundation of the general arming of the people."

On this foundation, the Red Army was developed and consolidated. It had no time for quiet development, it is true. Foreign powers and White Guardist Generals with their troops of mercenaries pressed hard upon the young Soviet power on all sides, and endeavoured to drown it in blood. After more than three years of imperialist war, with a hinterland completely disorganised and ruined by the war, badly armed and clothed, without adequate supplies of arms and food, forsaken for the most part by the former officers and military experts, betrayed a hundred times over, the young Red Army, in which the rank and file workers became Commanders, withstood the attacks of superior forces supplied with everything necessary, defeated them annihilatingly, and completely liberated the Soviet Union from the foreign troops and White Guardists.

Stalin and the Red Army

It is impossible to speak of the Red Army without recalling the prominent part played by *Stalin* in its organisation and in the achievement of its historical victories in the civil war. It was in June, 1918, that Stalin came in contact with military work for the first time at the Zarizyn front (Zarizyn—Stalingrad to-day—is one of the largest towns on the Volga). Entrusted with an entirely different mission, he found in Zarizyn complete chaos in military matters. The enemy was at the gates of the town itself and counter-revolution of every shade had spread confusion. Stalin intervened with an iron hand. After the now famous exchange of telegrams with Lenin, he created order within an astonishingly short time. Under his leadership a Revolutionary War Council was formed, and proceeded to organise the Red Army troops. Stalin's determination and energy achieved what had appeared impossible only shortly before. Efficient regiments, brigades, divisions, sprang out of the earth, and were able to ward off the savage attacks of the

well-organised and equipped enemy on the town, and finally to drove them away altogether.

No less decisive for success was Stalin's intervention on other fronts of the civil war. At the end of 1918, for instance, on the Eastern Front near Perm, where Stalin had been sent at the moment of an approaching catastrophe, and where he reorganised the demoralised troops (who had to fight in 35 degs. Centigrade frost, without even a morsel of bread for five days, and then retreated), enabling them not only to prevent the further advance of the enemy, but to go over to the counter-attack.

In the autumn of 1919 it was again Stalin who organised a complete change of plan on the Southern front and therewith brought about a decisive turn in the whole civil war. In this case, his mastery of revolutionary strategy was particularly obvious. In place of the false plan of the offensive against Denikin across the Don Steppe, as drawn up and defended by Trotzky, Stalin proposed an entirely new plan, envisaging an attack through the Donbas Industrial district. The correctness of Stalin's plan and the inadvisability of Trotsy's plan are obvious: instead of an advance across a region where the population was in part vacillating, in part actually hostile, where the kulaks still possessed much influence in the Cossack settlements, Stalin planned the attack across the industrial district of Charkov and the Donbas, populated chiefly by workers in sympathy with the Soviet power; instead of the almost trackless Don Steppe, the spreading net-work of the highly important Donetz railway. Denkin would be deprived of coal, and his army cut in two. Stalin's logically correct plan of offensive was adopted by the Central Committee. Its complete success is well known: the Denikin bands were driven into the Black Sea, the Ukraine and North Caucasia, cleared of White Guardists.

In the period 1918-20 it was Stalin who was sent most often by the Central Committee of the Bolshevik Party from one war front to another, and always to the spots where the revolution was most in danger, Stalin was not to be found in those places where it was comparatively quiet, but only in those places where various causes had brought the Red Army into some difficult position, where there was a possibility that confusion and irresolution might merge into impotence and bring about a catastrophe—here Stalin would then appear. Stalin never ceased to deal with the utmost thoroughness with the problems of the defence of the proletarian state. At the present time, precisely as in former years, he knows the Red Army down to the last detail, and is its best and closest friend.

The Red Army is strong through its devotion to the cause of Lenin-Stalin, to the cause of Socialism. Its strength lies in the consciousness that it is an army of peace, that it is not intended for the conquest of foreign territory, that—trained in the spirit of true internationalism—it serves world peace and the freedom of the peoples.

All Soviet citizens are liable to military service from their 19th year onwards. The recent alteration of the age of military service from 21 to 19 years of age has been made in order that the young Soviet Citizens, who generally leave school at the age of I8, should not be

called up, when in the middle of studies or apprenticeship. Every year, generally from September 1st to November 1st, the young Soviet citizens found suitable for military service are called up. As a rule the term of military service is two years, but for some arms (especially those requiring extensive technical knowledge—for example, the Navy) the term of service is 3-4 years.

The political-moral superiority of the Red Army, which enabled it to gain the victory over all enemies, even at the time when it was still technically weak, has been greatly enhanced by the building up of Socialism. Up to 1930 the Red Army, was still comparatively feebly armed. But since then, the task of technically equipping the army has been completely achieved as one of the results of the mighty development of industry in the course of the two Five Year Plans. One example suffices: In 1929 the average mechanical horse power falling to each Red Army soldier was 2.6, in 1930 3.07, and in 1933 7.74. This meant that already at this time the French and American armies, and even the British army, at that date the most mechanised army, had been considerably out-distanced. To-day the comparison is decidedly favourable to the Red Army. It has become an army of technicians, industrialised army, so to speak.

Proletarian Discipline in the Red Army

We referred above to Stalin's relation to the Red Army as that of friendship. And we can find no better word for the cordial relations between the whole of the Soviet people and its Red Army. What single term can, however, be found to describe the relations obtaining within the Red Army itself, among all its members? In the Red Army no trace is to be found of the repulsive caste spirit prevailing in the armies of the capitalist countries.

There is no other army in the world in which better discipline prevails than in the Red Army. No blind obedience, certainly, but conscious proletarian discipline. When on duty, everyone follows strictly the commands of his superiors. But when off duty, there is no difference between the commander and the rank and file Red Army soldier. Here there is no saluting of officers in the street. Quite as a matter of course, a Red Army soldier will ask for a light for his cigarette from the commander of regiment brigade, or division, in the street; will ask for directions for finding a street. Commander and Red Army soldier play chess together at the club, are joint members of cultural clubs meet at dances and musical entertainments.

Can you, for instance, imagine any other navy in the world, except the Red Navy, where a stoker would walk arm-in-arm with the first engineer of a flagship across the gangway, each with a cigar between his lips? And what do these two members of the Red Navy find to talk about? Many things—political questions, cultural questions of socialist construction, of rationalisation, proposals for the improvement of work in the engine room, for a better utilisation of coal, for smokeless steaming, etc., In the Red Navy it is indeed a matter of course that every member of the crew, from the youngest ships' boy upwards, should put forward his rationalisation proposals for improved working of the ship, in order to compele successfully with sister ships during manoeuvres

or training. The same applies to all parts of the Army.

A Soviet writer who took part in the manoeuvres of the Baltic Fleet some years ago, describes an episode graphically illustrating the relations between the Red Army soldiers and sailors and their commanders:

Among those attending these manoeuvres were also the People's Commissar for Defence, Voroshilov, and the famous cavalty leader and Marshal of the Soviet Union, Budyonny. One evening, after the conclusion of manoeuvres, a "social evening" was organised on the deck of the flagship, and was attended as usual by the whole crew and all the commanders. A seaman in gay gipsy costume whirled across the deck. The dance ended, but the sailors' attention was somewhat distracted and the applause was not so loud as usual. Two seamen went up to the "master of ceremonies" and whispered something in his ear. He appeared somewhat embarrassed, until Voroshilov himself asked what was the matter. The leader of the "social evening" cleared his throat, but forced himself to say: "The seamen beg our guest, Comrade Budyonny, to dance something for us." But he certainly did not expect the following prompt success of his words.

"Come on!" Budyonny twisted his moustache and laughed. Throwing off his colak, he called for a partner. The best dancer on the ship shouldered his way through the crowd, and a dancing contest began. The searchlights buzzed, the onlookers clapped their hands in time to the music.

"The naval uniform bothers him a little," laughed Voroshilov "He should have his cavalry uniform on, then he would show you what he can do."

But Budyonny showed what he could do, even in the un-accustomed uniform. In the end his partner could not keep up with him, and gave up the contest....

The commanders of the Red Army and Navy are not only superiors when on duty, and not only fight shoulder to shoulder with the Red Army soldiers to the last; they share all the joys and cares of everyday life with them.

The Composition of the Red Army.

The Red Army and its commanding staff are flesh and bone of the workers and peasants who are the masters of the country. A few figures will show the social composition and development of the Army during the last few years. The Red Army has developed as follows:

	1925 per cent.	1930 per cent.	1934 per cent.
Workers ...	11	31.2	45.8
Peasants ...	84.7	57.9	42.5
Employees...	4.3	10.9	11.7

That is to say, in 1925, 11 out of every 100 soldiers were workers, 84 were peasants, and 4 were employees. In 1934 the proportion was already 46 workers, 42 peasants, and 11 employees.

From 1935 onwards the number of Red Army soldiers and commanders from the workers has almost quadrupled, and now forms the majority of the Red Army. This is the direct result of the industrialisation of the couutry, of the building of new works and factories, the growth of the working class, the introduction of technics into agriculture. The working class and the peasantry form the overwhelming majority of the Red Army. Another extremely import-

ant fact must be taken into consideration. The collectivisation of agriculture has caused a considerable qualitative alteration in the Red Army soldiers from the rural districts. On 1st January, 1930, there were only 5.3 per cent. Red Army soldiers from the peasantry who were collective farmers, by 1934 the proportion was already 76.7 per cent. In the commanding staff the proportion of workers was 31.2 per cent. on January 1st, 1930 ; on July 1st, 42.3. The "officers' corps" (commanders) consists to almost one-half of the sons of workers.

A few more informative figures on the political composition of the Red Army. In 1834, 48. 5 per cent. of the whole army were members of the Party or the Young Communist League, and the proportion of Communists and Young Communists in the commanding staff was 68.3 per cent. 72 per cent. of the regimental commanders were Party members, 90 per cent. of the divisional commanders, whilst the corps commanders were 100 per cent. party members. The Red Army is thus a real army of the workers, of the people, of the Bolshevists with and without Party membership card, in which neither origin nor income determines rank and promotion, but the contact with the workers, the appropriate knowledge, and the qualities of a socialist fighter. Every worker may rise to the position of the Commander-in-Chief, after graduating from the proper army schools, which, however, are open to every Soviet citizen, like every other Soviet college.

One logical consequence of the social structure and essential character of the Red Army—though without parallel in other countries—is the participation of the Red Army in the political life of the country, as shown, for instance, in the right to elect, or to be elected possessed by all Red Army soldiers. Article 138 of the Stalinist Constitution states: "Citizens serving in the ranks of the Red Army have the right to elect and be elected on equal terms with all other citizens." In many of the municipal, districts and regional Soviets, up to the highest government organs of the State, members of the Red Army are already taking an active part, as people's deputies, in these organs of the workers' power. For many of the young Soviet citizens wno have been called up for service in the Red Army, especially those coming from remote districts, their term of military service is their best schooling. The meetings and courses of instruction furnished by the Red Army impart thorough general and political knowledge. The foundations of Marxism-Leninism are explained to the Red Army soldier, the political questions of the day are dealt with, the events and situation in the international labour movement discussed and described in detail, the effect of the existence of the surrounding capitalist world on the Soviet Union explained. This is the task of the political laaders of the various units, whilst the military training and leadership in fighting is the work of the commanders. It need not be said that these two tasks cannot be separated from one another, for the one complements the other, and therefore the active service orders of she Red Army state expressly: "In battle" the political workers exmple of readiness for self-sacrifice and heroism is necessary.

The large proportion of members of the C. P. and the Y. C. L. in the Red Army and the Party organisation working

in the army as in every industrial undertaking, on every collective farm, etc., is the basis of the politicala ctivity of the Red Army. At the same time, however, they take an active part in all questions relating to the political side of the military training. Should any division of troops lag behind in musketry, marching, or any other branch of training, or should it have failed in competition with another unit to show the required fighting ability, then the meeting held by the members of the Party and Young Communist League members, who have to set the example every-where, will deal with the matter in detail, examine the causes of the failure to attain the required standard, and severely criticise the persons responsible, even should the commanding officer be at fault. Indeed, since the Commanding Officer is responsible for the training, he will be more severely criticised than a rank and file Red Army soldier, and if he is a Party member, he wlll be called politically to account, at the same time.

The general participation in these important questions is, however, not by any means limited to the members of the Party and of the Young Communist League. On the contrary, all the Red Army soldiers take part. The best means of accomplishing this is the wall newspaper, which is to be found in every troop in the army, down to the smallest unit, and represents a sharp weapon of criticism and self-criticism. It ruthlessly pillories every error and every incorrect stand point; it is a a mirror of the daily life of the troop, and an excellent educational medium.

How the Red Army Promotes Education and Culture.

It is not only political knowledge that the young Red Army soldier receives through the Red Army. In every other branch of knowledge, too, and especially in his own profession, he is given every opportunity of advancement. In the old army, the maintenance of ignorance and lack of independent thought was an important means of upholding the rule of the large land-owners and capitalists. A soldier of the old army forgot his trade during his three years of military service, and after its expiration, he had difficulty in finding work again. The Red Army, in contrast to this, needs, precisely, soldiers on a high cultural and intellectual level.

The general political and cultural advance of the working population brings with it a higher cultural and educational level in the Red Army. A few years ago, there were still dozens of illiterate or semi-illiterate recruits in the Red Army—results of the old system—but not one single Red Army soldier concluded his term of military service without having learned to read and write. Meanwhile, illiteracy has been wiped out all over the country. Every fresh batch of recruits to the Red Army contains a larger proportion of youth possessing a high degree of education and culture. This does not mean that educational work is now neglected in the Red Army; It means that it is raised to a higher level. The Red Army soldier has now the opportunity of learning foreign languages Those already familiar with Gorki ond Pushkin now read the works of Dostoevsky, Gogol, Tolstoy, and other Russian classics (over 80 per cent. of the Red Army libraries, of which there are over 2,000, possessing about 20 million books and dozens of millions of pamphlets). The most eminent professors, university

lecturers, and scientists of the Soviet Union are frequent and welcome guests in the barracks of the various garrisons. In the town of Smolensk. for instance, in 1936 no fewer than 162 special lectures were given to the Red Army soldiers in the course of six months by workers in the scientific institutions. The subjects of these lectures were multifarious, including: "The development of life on the earth," "Racial theory in the service of fascism," "Causes of eclipses of the sun," "Pavlov's teachings" (Pavlov, the most famous of Russian physiologists, died early this year—*Ed.*).

Over and above, this, service in the Red Army is for many of its soldiers, especially those from the rural districts, synonymous with the gaining of higher qualifications in their vocations, or even with the learning of new trades and professions. The Red Army is a mechanised army: as early as 1933, 70 per cent. of the Red Army soldiers possessed technical knowledge, and they are given the opportunity of learning to apply this knowledge in many directions. Thus, the Red Army supplies the socialist village with continual fresh supplies of tractor drivers, chauffeurs, mechanics, fitters, electricians, etc. The Red Army has thus become an important factor contributing to the steadily increasing prosperity of the collective farms.

The collective farmers returning from service in the Red Army represent the most highly qualified workers of socialist agriculture in their native villages, and are besides the best initiators of cultural advance in every direction. In physical culture, for instance. Sport and physical exercise, both the obligatory physical culture and that carried on to an even greater extent voluntarily in leisure hours, have become extremely popular in the Red Army and are making the whole army a collective of physically strong, well-built men, with great resisting powers. The Red Army soldier who has learned to love sport, will become the best advocate and organiser of regular physical exercise after his return to the collective village or to his factory. Such physical culture was hitherto entirely unknown in the Russian villages. Physical culture is one instance; the Red Army exercises the same influence in all other spheres of social life.

In this connection a few comparative figures may be extremely interesting and instructive. When recruits were called up in 1912, 59 per cent. of those presenting themselves were unfit for military service. There was a large proportion of youths rendered so weak and ill by the inhuman exploitation in the works and factories and on the farms, who were in such a wretched physical condition that not even the recruiting authorities of Tsarist Russia,—by no means a fastidious body,—could pass them for soldiers. Under the Soviet power, a very high physical standard is set, yet the proportion of recruits found fit for military service increases steadily from year to year. The physical health of the Soviet workers is improving steadily. This improvement is guaranteed, on the one hand, by the constant considerable betterment of the material position of the workers, and on the other hand, by the resultant increase in mass sports activities. Young people no longer come unprepared to the Red Army. On the contrary, new recruits when called up are already excellent parachute jumpers, Voroshilov riders, glider-plane

fliers, and experts in various forms of sport.

Is it, then, a matter of surprise, with a Red Army as above described, playing this role as a bearer of culture, that service in the Red Army is not only the "honourable duty of every Soviet citizen," but that the young Soviet citizen regards it as most mortifying if he is put back for a while by the Recruiting Commission, or, worse still, exempted from military service altogether. There are an increasing number of cases in which not only the Soviet citizens concerned enter a determined protest against the refusal to accept them for the army, but their fathers, mothers, or wives send letters or come personally and support the protest.

Whilst under Tsarism, the parents watched the departure of their son for military service as if he were going to his death, to-day the day is a festival. The young Red Army recruits are accompanied to the barracks by the whole population of the village or all the workers in the factory, besides their own relations, all singing and marching to bands. And the barracks to which they come are of a kind beyond the imagination of other countries. Barracks with clubs, with large libraries, reading rooms, Lenin corners, cinemas, etc. Many pages could be filled, were all the cultural opportunities provided to be described in detail—the life of the Red Army clubs, where the soldier spends most of his evenings and his extensive leisure hours; the circles for working in various arts; the theatre collective etc., etc. A few figures give an idea of the growth of these institutions in the Red Army:

	Lenin Corners.	Clubs.	Red Army Houses (own club bldgs.)
Jan. 1, 1931	8,930	855	97
Jan. 1, 1934	15,091	1,336	142

The number of technical institutions for cultural and educational purposes increased from 1920 to 1922 as follows:

	Wireless centres	Perman't cinemas	Travel'g cinemas	Perman't sound film equipment	Travel'g sound film equipment
1930	240	945	534	8	1
1933	1,366	1,540	3,426	276	51

In 1933 there were already over 2,800 art circles in the Red Army, equivalent to an increase of 150 per cent. in comparison with 1930. In many Soviet towns the Red Army possesses its own theatre. In 1933 there were already 25 such theatres, headed by the Central Theatre of the Red Army in Moscow, whose new building is almost completed, and will be one of the largest and most beautiful theatres of the Soviet Capital.

The Soviet country and its Red Army are made strong by the patriotism of their people, The Soviet Union, whose capacity for defence is increasiug not only technically, but owing to the moral and political quality of its Red Army soldiers, plans no wars against near or distant neighbours. The Soviet Government is doing its utmost to preserve mankind frem fresh bloody wars. The Soviet country does not want war, but it is ready at any time to ward off all attacks. The Soviet people have something to defend, have someone to undertake the defence, and something with to defend themselves.

On the 21st Anniversary of the November Revolution

DIMITROFF'S INSPIRING CALL: END THE SPLIT IN WORLD LABOUR MOVEMENT

For Peoples' Unity against Fascist aggression and wars
For the defence of Spain, China and the U.S.S.R.
the guardian of world peace and democracy.

No other event in the history of mankind has had such tremendous influence over the entire course of social development, over the fate of all the peoples of the earth, as the victory of the great October Socialist Revolution. There has not been hitherto such a state as the U. S. S. R., which millions of people in all corners of the globe, regardless of nationality or race, love as their very own fatherland, and with which they feel themselves, their lives, their fate and their hopes vitally bound up.

As a result of the bourgeois revolutions, capitalism defeated the feudal system and won a dominating position. It encircled the entire world in its system of economy, overcame feudal particularism and established big national states. But capitalism merely replaced one form of exploitation by another, class antagonisms of one kind by another. It could not unite the peoples in peaceful fraternity. It deepened the gulf between them, creating new international contradictions and new causes of destructive wars of conquest.

As a result of the great October Socialist Revolution, socialism was victorious over capitalism on one-sixth of the globe. A powerful socialist state rose up in a tremendous territory covering half of Europe and Asia, in the heart of the world, a state based on the abolition of the exploitation of man by man and on a fraternal alliance among the peoples, and showing the way to the liberation of mankind from the bondage of capitalism, to the unification of all peoples of the earth in a supreme fraternity of free and happy working people.

In the course of twenty years of severe struggle, in the face of the furious resistance of the defeated exploiter classes within the country and counter-revolutionary intervention from without, in conditions of encirclement by the hostile capitalist powers, the working people of the U. S. S. R., led by their glorious Party of Bolsheviks headed by the brilliant leaders of working mankind, Lenin, Stalin, transformed a backward, wretched country into a foremost, powerful socialist state.

Whereas in 1913 Lenin, in characterizing the unbelievable backwardness of Tsarist Russia, pointed out that as regards modern means of production the country's economy was *four times* behind England, *five times* behind Germany and *ten times* behind America; to-day the Soviet Union occupies the *first place* in Europe and the *second place* in the world as an industrial country as regards the output of industrial production. No one can now deny the enormous achievements of socialist construction, the tremendous growth of industry and the record harvests of collectivised agriculture. It is a fact, that such a stormy advance of economic development has taken place in the U. S. S. R. as has never been known by capitalist society. Whereas the development of industry in capitalist countries during the peried 1890–1913 showed an average growth in production of 5.8 per cent a year, and during the period 1913–1936 only 1½ per cent, in the Soviet Union in 1936 alone the growth in industrial output totalled 28 per cent. Whereas in 1936 the industrial output of capitalist countries exceeded the 1913 level by *one-third*, in

the Soviet Union it increased by more than *seven times.*

In the sphere of agriculture a great historical victory has been achieved. At the time when the agriculture of capitalist countries is not emerging from the protracted agrarian crisis as the result of which the sown area is decreasing, a great number of products being destroyed and the level of all production steadily lowering, in the Soviet Union, in place of backward scattered economy there has been created the most advanced and biggest socialist agriculture with 99 per cent of the area sown by the peasants collectivised. Thanks to the collective farm order, poverty in the village has been destroyed and there are no longer peasants who have no land, no horse no implements. More than 20,000,000 poor peasants who formerly lived a poverty-striken existence have joined the collective farms and are today leading a well-to-do cultured life. Socialist agriculture is yielding record harvests unprecedented in the history of the country. In 1937 there was harvested nearly 7,000,000,000 *poods* of grain while the best years before the revolution gave four to five billion *poods.*

Under capitalism, wherever there is an increase of the wealth of the few, there is an increase, at the other end of the pole, of poverty and misery for millions of working people ; the boom periods are inevitably followed by severe crises which destroy the productive forces and bring in their train unemployment, hunger and poverty. The Socialist system, on the other hand, does not know of crises, does not know of unemployment and poverty.

Irrefutable facts clearly testify to the superiority of the socialist system over the capitalist system, not only in the sphere of economics, but also in the sphere of everyday life and culture, science and art, in the sphere of the relations between the peoples. Only the bought apologists of capitalism can dispute this superiority. And only hopeless critics who not infrequently call themselves Socialists, and political charlatans who distort Marxism, venture still to prove that the working class is incapable of undertaking the historic responsibility of guiding the fate of its own people and of the organization of national economy ; that the proletariat, which is "inexperienced" in the state and economic affairs, cannot get on without the bourgeoisie, who are "experienced" in these affairs.

Twenty years of the existence of the Soviet Union provides splendid confirmation of the words of Comrade Stalin uttered in 1937 on the occasion of the tenth anniversary of the October Revolution :

> "The undoubted successes of socialism in the U.S.S.R. on the front of construction, have clearly shown that the proletariat *can* successfuly govern the country *without* the bourgeoisie and *against* the bourgeoisie, that it *can* successfully build up industry *without* the bourgeoisie and *against* the bourgeoisie, that it *can* successfully guide the whole of the national economy *without* the bourgeoisie and *against* the bourgeoisie, that it *can* successfully build socialism despite the encirclement of the capitalist state. (Joseph Stalin, *Problems of Leninism* pp. 204-5, Russian Editions)."

Herein lies one of the most important lessons of principle, of the great October Socialist Revolution for the working class of the capitalist countries, a lesson which needs to be particularly underlined on the occasion of the Twenty-first Anniversary.

Much has been done by the proletariat of the capitalist countires in supporting the first proletarian revolution, in the history of mankind. Had it not been for this support the Soviet workers and peasants would have shed their blood to a still greater degree and would have had to sacrifice still more in order to defend the gains of the socialist revolution. However, it must be said outright, that the working classes of the capitalist countries have not succeeded in thoroughly fulfilling either their duty towards the first socialist revolution, or towards their own liberation. Not only have they remained under the power of capital, and in Italy and Germany have fallen victims to the barbarous bondage of fascism, but they have involuntarily assisted in increasing the difficulties,

privations, sufferings and sacrifices of the vanguard unit of the international proletariat.

But what would the world have looked like, if the proletariat of Germany, Austria-Hungary and Italy, after the October Socialist Revolution, in the period of 1918-1920, had not stopped half way in their revolutionary advance? What would the world have looked like had the German and Austrian revolutions of 1918 been carried through to the end, and had the dictatorship of the proletariat been established in the heart of Europe, in highly developed industrial countries, as a result of the victory of the revolution? A revolutionary bloc of the West-European proletariat and the working class of the Soviet Union would not only have facilitated a hundredfold, the liquidation of the counter-revolutionary intervention and civil war, but would have immeasurably hastened the building of socialism in the land of the Soviets. The fascist dictatorship would not have existed either in Italy, Germany, Austria or other countires. There would have been no offensive of fascism upon the working class and the democratic peoples. There would not have been the present difficult trials of the Spanish and Chinese peoples. Mankind would not now be faced with the ominous menace of a new world slaughter.

At the time when the Russian workers and peasants over-threw the landlords and capitalists, all the necessary objective conditions were at hand in central Europe for the European and particularly the German proletariat, taking the path of Soviet workers and peasants. But this did not take place. It did not take place mainly because the decisive word at that time in the leadership of the mass organisations of the proletariat belonged to the leaders of the Socialist Democratic Parties, who had been in coalition with their own imperialist bourgeoisie from the outbreak of the war.

In their effort at all costs to preserve the shattered foundations of bourgeois society, they widely utilized the inflence of the ideology and policy of *Social. Democratism, reformism,* in order to deceive the majority of the working class, by spreading the conviction among them that the workers would be led to socialism, not by the further development of the revolution, but by rapid liquidation. By their coalition with the *bourgeoisie* they *split* the working class movement, weakened the proletariat, islotated it from the peasantry and the small towns-people, and thus helped the bourgeoisie to gather their forces and to undertake the offensive against the revolutionary workers and peasants. The political cowards and deceivers of the proletariat who were at the head of the mass organizations of the working class alarmed the workers with the prospect of sacrifices, privation and economic ruin. They assured them that they would be led to socialism not by the path of *Bolshevism*, by the revolutionary practical application of the teachings of Marx and Engels, not by the proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat, but that a peaceful and painless transition to socialism would be ensured by the path of *Democratism*, the path of coalition with the bourgeoisie and the preservation of the bourgeois system.

Now the results of the twenty years are before us. Who will deny that the sacrifices and privations borne, for instance, by the working class and working masses of Germany throughout the whole of the post-war period and, particularly, in the conditions of the savage regime of the fascist dictatorship, are a thousand times greater than all the possible sacrifices and privations that would have been demanded by the victory of the proletarian revolution in 1918?

Instead of the promised peaceful, painless transition to socialism, Social-Democratism, by its entire capitulatory and splitting policy, cleared the way for the victory of fascism.

Had it not been for the Social-Democratism of Turatti and Dara gona in Italy the victory of the *fascism of Mussolini* would not have been possible. *Had it not been for the Social-Democratism of Ebert and Noske* in Germany the victory of the *fascism of Hitler* would not have been possible. *Had it not been for the Social-*

Democratism of Nenner and Bauer in Austria the victory of the fascism of Schuschnigg would not have been possible. Nothing can now conceal this truth, which also irrefutably confirmed by numerous, now well-known documents from the post-war political history of Europe.

In the conditions of the unparalalled revolutionary crisis at the end of the Imperialist war, the reactionary Social-Democratic leaders split the working-class, disarmed ideologically the revolution that had matured, saved the dominations of capitalism and thereby made the working people a target for fascism. At the same time, *Bolshevism*, true Marxism, united the working class, created an inviolable alliance of the workers and peasánts, destroyed capitalism, ensured the victory of the socialist revolution, and led to the building of socialist society on one-sixth of the globe.

And Comrade Stalin was a thousand times right when he wrote ten years ago that - "*It is impossible to put an end to capitalism, without having put an end to Social-Democratism in the working class movement.* (*J. Stalin, Problems of Leninism p. 209, Russ. Edition*).

Herein lies the second most important lesson of principle for the proletariat of the capitalist countries in connection with the twenty-first anniversary of the great October Socialist Revolution.

During the twenty years, the working masses in the capitalist countires, especially during the world economic crisis, experienced much, suffered much and learned much on the basis of their own bitter experience. The final and irrevocable victory of socialism in the U. S. S. R. on the one hand, and the lessons of the temporary defeats inflicted on the working class by fascism, especially in Germany, on the other hand, *have undermined* the former influence of Social-Democratism not only in the working class, but also in the ranks of the Socialist Parties themselves and the trade unions under their political leadership. In the Social-Democratic camp there has begun a process of departure from the positions of *reformism*, of departure from the policy of class collaboration with the bourgeoisie, and of the transition to the position of struggle, jointly with the Communist Party against fascism, to the position of united action of the working class and of the anti-fascist people's Front. This process has already found clear expression in the establishment of the united front between the Communists and Socialists in France, Spain and Italy, and partly in a number of other countries.

The further development of this process is being facilitated and speeded up by the entire course of the events of recent years, which imperatively faces the working class with the *most important shock task* of, at all costs, barring the road to fascism in the bourgeois-democratic countries, of overthrowing fascism in the countires where it is in power, and of defending world peace against the fascist warmakers. This process of the departure from Social-Democratism is being speeded up by the correct application by the Communist Parties of the main lines laid down by the Seventh Congress of the Communist International.

As a result of the influence of the victory of Socialism in the U.S.S.R., as the result of the development of the People's Front Movement, of the growing influence of Communism in the ranks of the working class movement, there will, without doubt, be an increase in the number of Socialist Parties and organizations which *give up bankrupt Social-Democratism, which wage a struggle together with the Communist Parties against the common class enemy and which stand for unity with the Communists in a single mass party of the proletariat.*

Such a unification has already taken place between the Socialists and Communists of Catalonia. It is being prepared jointly by the Communist and Socialist Parties of Spain. The necessary preconditions for it, are also maturing in France as a result of the joint struggle of the Communists and Socialists in the United Confederation of Labour, and in the ranks of the anti-fascist People's Front, and also, thanks to the beneficent influence exerted by the establishment of a United Confederation of Labour, over the whole process of the consolidation of the forces of the French Proletariat. The new pact between the Italian

Communists and Socialists is still further strengthening their fraternal relations and the bonds of their joint struggle against the fascist dictatorship of Mussolini. Mutual understanding and accord are increasing between the Communists and Socialists in Germany in the struggle against the fascist dictatorship of Hitler, despite all the machinations and intrigues of the diehard leaders of the foreign executive of the Social-Democratic Party.

It may be said with confidence that by the twenty-first anniversary of the great October Socialist Revolution, the working class of the capitalist countries is *closely approaching the liquidation of the split in the* world working class movement which was brought into being by Social-Democratism. There are still many difficulties and obstacles of an ideological, political and organizational character in the way of liquidating this split. There are difficulties connected with the very history and traditions of the working class movement in the different countires, difficulties which are not so easy to overcome. But the main thing is that the ruling classes of the capitalist countries, which are profoundly interested in the division of the forces of the working class movement, are doing and will continue to do everything possible to prevent the unity of the working class movement, being established. For their benefit, the reactionary leaders of the Socialist International are expending furious energy in order to turn back the wheel of history. Even in the fact of the monstrous Germano-Italian intervention in Spain, the ferocious onslaught by the Japanese fascist militarists on China and the exceptionally acute menace of a new world imperialist war, these leaders are doing everything possible to wreck every attempt at joint action by the international organisations of the workers in defence of the Spanish and Chinese people, in defence of peace.

But there are no such difficulties and obstacles on the path to unity in the struggle against fascism and war as the working classes cannot overcome, if they are filled with the firm determination to unite their forces and fulfill their historic mission.

The existence of the land of socialism, that powerful buttress of the struggle of the international proletariat, the buttress of peace, liberty and progress, *is a tremendous factor in the liquidation of the split in the ranks of the world working class movement.* By their example, their labour, heroism, their Stakhanov movement, their devotion to their socialist fatherland, their merciless struggle against the enemies of the people, Trotsky-Bukharinite spies, diversionnists and agents of fascism, the working people of the Soviet Union exert enormous influence on the bringing together of the split forces of the world working class movement. The sympathy and love of the working people of the capitalist world for the Soviet Union, the land of victorious socialism, are steadily on the increase. And this fact acts as a most powerful antidote against the splitting work carried on in the ranks of the working class by the open and masked agents of the class enemy.

The land of victorious socialism, which is playing such an outstanding part in uniting the international proletariat, is rallying all sincere supporters of the workers' cause still more closely around the U. S. S. R. In the present international situation there is not nor can there be any other, *more certain criterion* than one's *attitude* towards the Soviet Union, in determining who is the *friend* and who is the *enemy* of the working class and socialism, of determining who is a *supporter* and who an *opponent* of democracy and peace. The *touchstone* in checking the sincerity and honesty of every individual, active in the working class movement, of every working class party and organization of the working people, and of every democrat in the capitalist countires, is their *attitude* towards the great land of socialism. You cannot carry on a serious struggle against the fascist instigators of a new world blood bath, if you do not render undivided support to the U. S. S. R. a *most important factor* in the maintenance of international peace. You cannot carry on a real struggle for socialism in your own country if you do not oppose the enemies of the Soviet State, where this socialism is being fulfilled by the heroic efforts of the working people. You cannot be a *real*

friend of the U. S. S. R. if you do not condemn its enemies—the Trotsky-Bukharinite agents of fascism.

The historical dividing line between the forces of fascism, war and capitalism, on the one hand, and the forces of peace, democracy and socialism on the other hand, is in fact becoming the *attitude* towards the Soviet Uuion, and not the formal *attitude* towards Soviet Union, which has been carrying on a real existence for twenty-one years already, with its untiring struggle against enemies, with its dictatorship of the working class and the Stalin Constitution, with the leading role of the Party of Lenin and Stalin.

Herein lies the third most important lesson of principle for the proletariat of the capitalist countries in connection with the twenty-first anniversary of the great October Socialist Revolution.

THE WAR CRISIS—LESSON FOR INDIA

G. Adhikari

One central lesson emerges out of the recent war-crisis and its after effects. It is this. The battle for peace is nothing if it is not at the same time a united people's struggle against fascism and its allies. Those who refuse to fight against fascism not only of Germany and Italy but also of their own Governments, those who refuse to defend democracy, to throw in their weight in favour of the forces of socialism and peace, repudiate the struggle for peace itself.

The Peace Front

Since Japan's attack against Manchuria, one act of fascist aggression has succeeded another. The independence and the existence of small nations and colonies has been attacked by the fascist powers. The ruling cliques, in the 'democratic' countries looked on. The people in the free countries of Europe and America saw in each of these acts of agression—new incitement to war. They abhorred war. They remembered the monstrous slaughter of 1914-18 which was the death of 10 million men the destruction of millions of homes. Since 1935 a powerful peace movement has grown embracing millions of men and women drawn from all classes.

Why it Failed

But in the hour of trial, the peace forces failed. The people's sentiment for peace, their fear of war was successfully utilised by the pro-fascist cliques in the British and the French Governments to palm off the most disgracefull surrender to Hitler's war-designs, as the salvation of peace. The main striking force of the peace movement is of course the working class, which forms its natural spear-head. Had the working class in France, England and Czechosovakia, acted, unitedly rapidly and decisively, the broad peace forces would have followed. The conspiracy and intrigue of Chamberlain and his cliveden set with Hitler would have been exposed. The treachery of Daladier and Bonnet would have been defeated in time. The vaccillations of the Czech Government in the most critical movement would have been overcome. In each of these three countries, the leadership of the Labour and Socialist parties was itself duped by the war scare propaganda of Chamberlain and Daladier. They had passed resolutions to defend the independence and democracy of the Czechs. But at the critical movement they refused to join up with the Communists in actually taking this action. Once again, it is the vaccillating and capitulating attitude of the Socialist and Labour leadership which has paved the way for another fascist victory.

From Armed Peace to War

The smoke-screen that concealed the conspiracy of Chamberlain and Hitler has been lifted. The people can now see clearly what they have got as a result of their surrender- It is not peace. It is the promise of a new war-

crisis. Hardly had the echoes of the Church bells which greeted the Munich Peace died, when Hitler began a fresh campaign of provocation—for new objects of aggression. Even Lord Halifax is not sure whether it is going to be "war, armed peace, or peace with understanding". Lord Halifax says England must have 'armed peace' now. Only through arming herself now will England be able to achieve "peace with understanding". This is the policy of the Chamberlain-Halifax Cabinet. What does it mean? It means placing England on a war footing—it means more taxation on the English people industrial mobilisation, more hardship on the workers, and curtailment of democratic liberties. It means the subjugation of Palestine in the interest of Mediterranean security for Britain. It means a new offensive against the Indian people to impose the federation, to tie India hand and foot so that it may not create trouble when another war crisis comes.

'The peace with understanding' which Halifax speaks of, is of course understanding with the fascist axis—with Hitler, Mussolini and Japan. The further deals which Chamberlain contemplates with these powers, will result in the enslavement of the small nations in the south eastern Europe, in the attack against the Soviet. They aim at the partition of China and Spain. They constitute a menace to democracy in France and England. Their final outcome cannot but be a war of destruction against the Soviet Union.

Fight for Peace is Fight against Fascism

The clear lesson from these developments is that peace cannot be saved by pandering to the aggressors by surrendering to the fascists at home and abroad. The immediate task before the European working class is to unite against the fascist and the pro-fascist rulers of their own countries. On the day of the Munich Conference the Communist Parties of England, France, Germany and Czechoslovakia issued a joint statement. They called upon the workers and peoples of Europe to unite in a struggle against the shame of Munich. They called upon the peace loving peoples of Europe to demand an *international conference* with the participation of U. S. A. and the Soviet Union for securing world peace. This slogan must be acceptable to the entire peace movement in Europe and in America, as the immediate practicable step. But the Communists know that it cannot be made practical, untill the united might of the proletariat in England and France in alliance with the democratic forces is able to drive their reactionary governments out of office. Unity of Socialists and Communists of the entire working class for political action, for the defence of Spain, China and the Soviet Union is the urgent need of the hour. Peace cannot be secured with passivity —but through determined struggle— against the enemies of peace like Chamberlain and Daladier, who are also enemies of Democracy and Socialism.

Implications of Haripura Stand

What are we in India to do in this new struggle for peace? It is clear that the new menace of war means the enforcing of new war measures on India. It means more intensified offensive against the States people's struggles, greater pressure on the Congress Ministries and the imposition of the Federation. Our fight for independence and against British Imperialism is a part of the peace movement. It is a part of the world struggle against Fascist and pro-Fascist war-makers. This was made clear in the Haripura resolution on foreign policy and war danger. At Haripura the Indian people declared their desire to co-operate as a free Nation with other peoples to build up a world order and stand for collective security and disarmament. The Fascist powers were named as the instigators of an imperialist war and British imperialism was recognised as their helper. By that resolution we were pledged to resist every attempt to involve India in an imperialist war. But the resolution also means that the Indian people are prepared to line up with the anti-fascist forces of peace in Europe.

Delhi Working Committee on war Crisis

At the time of the war crisis, when it appeared as if Britain was going to war

on the side of France and U. S. S. R. against Fascist Italy and Germany, the tricky question arose,—was India to support Britain in that war? The working Committee issued a resolution expressing deep sympathy with Czechoslovakia but issued no instructions regarding the hectic war preparations in India. No clear lead was given. No instructions were issued to the people as to how they were to meet the enforced war preparations in India.

Gandiji's line

What the working Committee would have done had war actually broken out is indicated by Gandiji in his second article on Czechoslovakia. He points out that " The Working Committee had almost come to the conclusion that it would deny itself the opportunity of striking a bargain with England but would make its contribution to world peace, to the defence of Czechoslovakia, and to India's freedom by declaring to the world by *its action* that the way to peace with honour did not lie through the mutual slaughter of the innocents but that it lay only and truely through the practice of organised non-violence even unto death ".

Its meanings

This mystic paragraph can only mean one thing. If Britain were to declare war, the Indian people were to resist all war preparations " through the practice of organised non-voilence " and thus to strike for India's freedom and simultaneously give Czechoslovakia a moral lesson in its fight for existence. Gandhiji's proposal appears to be very radical on paper. In practice it would amount to quite an ineffective resistence to British war-measures. It would have meant an easy walk-over to British imperialism, and an invitation to crush the non-violent movement and to use India's men and money in the war as long as it suits her imperial interests. Gandhiji views the whole struggle for peace from an individualistic and ethical place. He will not see that the fight which raged round Czechoslovakia was a fight between two opposing camps—the camp of peace-loving people fighting for democracy, and socialism and the camp of fascists and reactionary capitalists. Czechoslovakia was defeated not because of its moral weakness but because the Czechoslovakian people were not able to preserve their unity in the hour of trial—because the democratic people of England and France were unable to unite and defeat the pro-fascist conspiracy of their Governments. Then again Gandhiji will not see that India's fight for freedom is not a lone fight. It is closely linked up with the fight of the peoples of Europe against their own oppressors.

Nehru's Stand

In an article written on the eve of the crisis in London, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru indicated the correct line to be followed. To begin with he at once realised that:

> " Whether there is war or peace, the fate of Czechslovakia is a vital matter to the world and to all who stand for democracy and freedom. We cannot tolerate the defeat of democracy and the world domination of fascist-imperialism...........If this grave danger threatens, then no people or individuals can be neutral or onlookers, and we have to cast our full weight on the side of democracy, serving thereby the cause of our own freedom. Not to do so might help fascism and reaction."

Battle for Peace Indivisible

To Pandit Nehru, the fight for peace is indivisible. He knows well that in a conflict in which the forces of peace and democracy are at grips with fascism, and reaction, the Indian people fighting, for their freedom cannot be neutrals. He knows that the Chamberlain Government cannot be relied upon to fight for democracy for the integrity of Czechoslovakia. If it is dragged into it it would mean betrayal at evey step. Therefore the next thing he demands is that the Chamberlain Government must go.

India and the Defence of Czechoslovakia

What should India have done in case war had broken out in which Britain France and the Soviet Union were fighting along side of Czechoslovakia? Nehru's answer was clear:

"In India with her freedom assured to her, and working for the establishment of a democratic state, will be a pillar of strength to freedom and democracy elsewhere, and will throw her weight and resources, in war or peace, for the defence of democracy. She will most willingly join ranks in defence of Czechoslovakia and to combat Fascism and work for a settlement to do away with the injustices of the past and the present, and lay the foundation of a true world order".

Nehru's Concrete Proposal

In conformity with the Haripura Resolution, Nehru boldly declared that a Free India was prepared to join with democratic powers in the war against fascist aggression. Nerhu showed that he clearly realised that every stroke against the *main enemy*—Fascism, weakens world capitalism, brings democracy, freedom and Socialism nearer. But he did not stop at that. He realised that some thing had to be done immediately and without delay. It was not enough to state that only a free India would fight side by side with the democratic forces. It was nececsary to lay down concrete and practical conditions for such a cooperation. He did not think in terms of bargaining. He was speaking to the democratic people in England and not to the rulers. He told them that if India is to throw in her lot with the democratic peoples of France, England and Soviet Union in the defence of Czechoslovakia, the following demands must be immediately granted:

"India's right to Independence must be recognised as also the fact that her constitution will be drawn up by a constituent Assembly elected by Adult Franchise. A committee consisting of representatives of the people, should be set up to work out the details for the election to this Assembly. And immediate steps should be taken for the transitional period so that a popular direction is given to affairs."

What is the difference between the line indicated by Gandhiji and the attitude of Pt. Jawaharlal, as outlined above? Gandhiji's line though it appears more radical is in reality negative. In actual practice it would have meant a passive surrender to imperialism—a refusal to sieze the opportunity simultaneously for the defence of world peace as well as for the achievement of India's freedom. Nerhu's line on the other hand is positive. It lays down conditions for co-operation with the democratic peoples fighting against fascism; but it must be clearly realised that such conditions presuppose a determination to fight all imperialist war-measures, if voluntary co-operation on the basis indicated above is refused. The difference between the two lines is the difference between compromise and struggle.

Rally Against War and Federation

The war crisis is postponed. Once again we will be faced with another crisis and we must be prepared to meet it. British imperialism is going ahead with its war preparations, with the suppression of the states people's struggles, with the preparations for imposing the federation. The immediate thing to do is to start a nation-wide campaign against war, against the recruitment bill and against all forms of war measures. This must be accompanied by a mass campaign against the federation. It is time now to formulate concrete and immediate demands and to prepare for an all-in struggle. The people of India must already be on the move for a big struggle when the next war crisis comes. That is the only way of preventing war and turning the war crisis to advantage for our freedom struggle.

Read "CHINGARI"

Marxist Monthly in Urdu

Chief Editor:–SAJJAD ZAHEER.

SHAHARANPUR, (U. P.)

REMINISCENCES OF THE OCTOBER REVOLUTION

AN INTERVIEW WITH LENIN

By W. Gallacher

A few days before the February Revolution some of the Clyde shop stewards, of whom I was one, were liberated from Calton prison, in Edinburgh, after serving terms of twelve months' imprisonment for sedition. A number of others had been deported from the Clyde, but shortly after our release, the deportation orders were withdrawn, and they returned to their homes.

We started where we had left off in the fight against the war, but there were two special issues around which we conducted increasing campaign on the streets and in the factories. Support for "Free Russia" aroused the greatest enthusiasm among the masses, and the sailors of a Russian warship which was then in the Clyde, were the nightly guests of the Glasgow workers.

"Free Russia" swept the country; Tsarism, with all its black and hateful past, had gone, and Russia had taken a great step forward. But was this the end? There were many on the platform at the great Workers' and Soldiers' Congress in Leeds, who anxiously hoped that it might be that Russia, having got rid of the Tsar, would settle down to a nice, respectable bourgeois existence.

I remember, during the discussion on a resolution welcoming the new freedom, drawing attention to the fact that the Revolution wasn't finished, that the workers and peasants, after their sacrifices, were not going to step out of the picture, were not going to give up their Soviets. While I did not know in what form the struggle would continue, it was not long before the slogan from Russia: "All Power to the Soviets!" rang out loud and clear.

One campaign, which was peculiar to the Clyde, was that for the release of John McLean. Whilst I and some others had been sentenced to twelve months' imprisonment, the fiery, irrepressible leader of the revolutionary movement in Scotland had been sentenced to three years' penal servitude.

Regularly we made parades through the streets and demonstrations at the factories demanding his release. By July, 1917, we had him with us again, after he had served 15 months of his sentence. From July to October, the fight against the war was conducted with ever-increasing energy. McLean never halted. Day and night classes, demonstrations, factory meetings—everywhere the struggle went on.

Alongside the fight against war went the struggle for "Free Russia", but this was assuming a different character. The slogans and programme of the Bolsheviks made an immediate appeal to all the active workers on the Clyde and especially to John McLean. As a revolutionary and one of the finest Marxists, he had no difficulty in following the situation that was developing in Russia nor of imparting what he knew, to the meetings of workers, always anxious to listen to him.

But the press was making a terrific propaganda against the Bolsheviks and the new stage of the revolution. Constant new stories were put on to blacken the Bolsheviks and satisfy the "moderate opinion" that the "extremists" were finished.

When Kornilov marched on Petrograd, the British press hailed him as the saviour of Russia. Then the great news came through. The slogan: "All Power to the Soviets!" had become an actual fact. A great demonstration was immediately organised in Glasgow to celebrate the proletarian victory. For the first

time in history, our class had taken power and were using it to end capitalism and usher in Socialism. It was not possible to describe the effect, this great event had upon us. The workers had taken over one-sixth of the world—the world could never be the same again.

The class struggle had now reached a stage where the bitter hatred of the bourgeoisie would be directed not only against the workers of Russia, but also against those who aspired to follow their example. "Follow Russia!" now took the place of "Free Russia!" on our banners. The lies of the press increased a thousand-fold. The hate propaganda that had been at full blast against the Germans was turned into a mad fury against the Bolsheviks. But while this had a certain effect, it was very limited. Not only was there the activity of John McLean and the shop stewards, but the instincts of the Clyde proletariat responded immediately to the October Revolution. Our victory demonstrations brought out great masses of the Clyde workers. Banners and slogans of the most colourful and inspiring character attracted a ready response from those who lined the streets as we marched along.

From a platform at Glasgow Green, John McLean thundered forth a welcome to the Soviet Government and a pledge to carry on the fight until we too had ended with the reign of capitalism and made our own Soviets in Britain.

What a contrast he was to a certain Kautskian brand of "Marxist" who tried to argue that the October Revolution couldn't be a true revolution because "socialism could only come after capitalism had reached its peak and exhausted itself." But we know that it was a "true" revolution, that the workers, in alliance with the peasants, had taken power for the first time in history, that capitalism had given way at its weakest link. It was for us to hammer out the other links until they also gave way. To this task we pledged ourselves in the early days of the October Revolution. We gloried in the triumphs of our heroic Russian comrades and pledged ourselves anew to the cause of working-class emancipation.

The October days of 1917 were great days for us; they will only be equalled when our own October comes and we march forward to the conquest of power and the end of the evil reign of capitalism.

* * *

In 1920 I got appointed by the comrades in Glasgow, associated with the Clyde Workers' Committee (Shop Stewards' Movement) to attend the Second Congress of the Communist International. We were at that time "Left" sectarians, and refused to participate in the discussions taking place between the B. S. P. and the S. L. P. on the questions of the formation of a Communist Party in Britain.

We had the project in view of starting a "pure" Communist Party in Scotland, a party that would not under any circumstances touch either the Labour Party or parliamentary activity.

As I hadn't a passport, and as there was little likelihood of getting one, I set out for Newcastle, where, after a week's effort, I succeeded, with the assistance of a Norwegian comrade, who was a fireman, in getting safely stowed away on a ship for Bergen. From Bergen I travelled up to Vords from Vords to Murmansk, and from there to Leningrad. When I arrived at Leningrad, the Congress, which had opened there, was in session in Moscow, to where, it had been transferred after the opening.

In Smolny I was made comfortable in a room, while some of the comrades tried to find an interpreter. While I was writing, one of them came in and handed me, Left Wing Communism: An Infantile Disorder, which had just been printed in English. I started reading it quite casually, but when I came to the section dealing with Britain, and saw what it had to say about me, I sat up with a jolt. I had come away from Glasgow with the notion that our case against the Labour Party and against participation in Parliament was so sound so unassailable, that all I would have to do would be to put a few well-rehearsed arguments, and the B. S. P. and S. L. P. would be wiped off the map. It was a real shock to find that already, before I had been anywhere near the Congress,

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all the fancy building I had been doing was knocked into complete ruin. But at that time all the questions raised by Lenin were far from being clear to me, as was evident later in my speeches at the Congress.

I got to Moscow on a Saturday at mid-day, and was taken to a hotel just in time to be taken to a "subotnik." I got a job till eight at night, stacking pig-iron in a foundary. On Sunday I was persuaded to play a foot-ball match, and got myself kicked, all over the field for an hour and a half. At night I met and had a very ihteresting talk with a young French comrade named Lefevre, who had been lost along with another companion and three fishermen between Murmnnsk and Vords.

On Monday, with other delegates, I made my way to the Kremlin and to my first acquaintance with an International Congress. In the main hall, groups of delegates were standing chatting and arguing.

We passed through into the side room, where the delegates sat drinking tea writing reports or preparing speeches. I was introduced to delegates from this and that country, and then I got into a group, and someone said: "This is Comrade Lenin," just like that. I held out my hand and said: "Hello." I was struck for anything else to say.

He said, with a smile, as he was told that I was Comrade Gallacher from Glasgow: "We are very pleased to have you at our Congress." I said something about being glad to be there, and then we went on talking about other things. I kept saying to myself: "Christ, there's war everywhere, there are internal problems and external problems that would almost seem unsurmountable. Yet here is a comrade supremely confident that the Bolsheviks can carry through to victory". Lenin joked and laughed with the comrades, and occasionally, when I said something, he would look at me in a quaint way. I later discovered that this was in consequence of my English. He had difficulty in understanding it.

I immediatcly felt that I was talking, not to some "far-away great" man hedged around with an impossible barrier of airs, but to Lenin, the great Party comrade, who had a warm smile and cheery word for every proletarian fighter.

When I got going in the discussions on the political resolution and the trade union resolution, I got a very rough handling. Some of my best arguments were simply riddled, Opponents, when I got up to speak, never missed a chance of "cutting in." Naturally, I would snap back at them, and things sometimes got very hot. As I felt the ground slipping away from beneath my feet, I got very bad tempered. But Lenin, while carrying on an irreconcilable criticism "in principle" of my line, would always take the opportunity of saying something helpful, something that took away a lot of the soreness from the difficult position, my wrong ideas rushed me into.

In the Political Commission the same thing was going on as in the open sessions.

Every time I got up to speak I would say things in such an offensive way that interruptions would start, and then two or three of us would be at it. On several occasions at these sittings Lenin passed me short, pencilled notes, explaining a point or showing mewhere I was wrong.

When the sitting would finish, I'd tear up my own notes, and I tore up Lenin's along with them. It seems incredible now that I could do such a thing but I never thought of it at the time. Towards the end of the Political Commission, when I had been very aggressive about the B.S.P, and S.L.P., he passed me across a note, which in a very short, caustic way gave an estimation of these groups. At night I mentioned in confidence to one or two comrades that Lenin had given me a note about the B. S. P. and S. L. P. which, if I had shown them, would have made them blink. "Where is it?" one of them asked "Oh, I tore it up," I casually replied. "You what? You tore up a note in Lenin's handwriting?" He was aghast. "I tore up several," I said, but they were personal and I didn't think he'd want me to keep

them." This fellow, who turned out later to be a thorough renegade, got me to promise, if I got another, that I would give it to him, though it should have been obvious to me at the time that what he was interested in, was the handwriting of a "great man," not in Lenin's politics.

Two days later, in the Political Commission, in the midst of a breeze, and while I was speaking, someone made a reference to Infantile Sickness. "Yes I said, "I've read it, but I'm no infant. It's all right to treat me as one and slap me around when I'm not here, but when I'm here you'll find I'm an old hand at the game." This latter phrase caught Lenin's attention, and some time later, when Willie Paul visited Russia, Lenin repeated it to him with a quite credible Scotch accent. When I sat down after this effort he passed me a note which read: "When I wrote my little book, I had'nt met you." I gave that note to the aforementioned renegade to my present great regret.

While insistent in carrying through his political line, Lenin gave both in the open sessions and in the Political Commission every conceivable assistance to myself and other comrades, in order to help us to political clarity.

Then when I went to visit him at home, I had my greatest experience. I sat down before him and we talked of the building of a party and its role in leading the revolutionary struggle. I had never thought much about the Party before, but I began then to get a real understanding of what a Communist Party should be. He was dead against the project for a seperate Party, in Scotland. I would have to work, and join up in the newly-formed Party in Britain. I made objections; I couldn't work with this one or the other one.

"If you put the revolution first," he said, "you won't find any difficulty. For the revolution you will work with all sorts of people for a part of the way at any rate. But if you start off by shutting yourself away from everyone, instead of getting in amongst them and fighting for the line of revolutionary advance, you won't get anywhere. Get into the Party and fight for the line of the Communist International, and you'll have the strength of the Communist International behind you."

In all our talk, the "revolution" was the living throbbing theme of all that was said. I never had an experience like it. I couldn't think of Lenin personally, couldn't think of anything but the revolution and the necessity of advancing the revolution, whatever the cost might be. This, ever since, seemed to me to be the outstanding quality of Lenin's great genius. He never thought of himself, he was the living embodiment of the revolutionary struggle and he carried with him wherever he went the inspiration of his own great conviction.

During the course of the Congress I had another very close friend, Artem, who was killed in an accident the following year. Artem, or Serjieff, as he was more commonly known, used to talk a lot with the me of the experience they had in the early days of the Party. He was only about 19 or 20 when Lenin broke with the Mensheviks. He was absolutely devoted to Lenin and the Party.

In the course of one of our talks he said to me: "We have another great leader who is never heard of outside the Party, Comrade Stalin. Often when there is an exceptionally difficult problem before the Political Bureau, all eyes will turn to Stalin. In a few well-chosen sentences he will give his solution, and it's always clear and decisive." That was the first time I'd ever heard the name of Stalin, When I returned to Glasgow and reported my impressions of the Congress, it was the first time any of the Glasgow comrades heard his name. It wasn't till I was over again, in 1923, that I had the opportunity of meeting Stalin and learning at first hand how correct the estimation of Serjieff was.

TRADE UNION WORK IN THE SOVIET UNION

By F. Becker

In the Soviet Union there are over 22 million workers organised in 162 different trade unions. Membership is entirely voluntary. Nobody in the Soviet Union is compelled to become a member of a trade Union. Nevertheless approximately 82 per cent of all workers, employees, and intellectuals, employed in industry, commerce, in all the various branches of economy, and in the institutions, are members of their trade unions.

The Soviet trade unions have been, and continue to be, the mass organs representing the economic and cultural interests of the toiling masses of the Soviet Union. The interests of the working class which owns the whole of the means of production are, however, very different from the interests of a working class exploited by Capitalism. The State of the workers and peasants is not an exploiter State, but a Socialist State, and the Soviet workers are the masters of the undertakings and institutions.

This does not, however, render trade union organisations unnecessary, but allots them quite definite tasks within the framewark of the Socialist State, just as the economic organisations and the leading administrative bodies of the industries have their definite tasks. The decisively important point is that these organisations combine correctly the material and cultural interests of their members with the social interests of the whole working people.

How is the Wage question dealt with, by the trade unions in the Soviet Union? The wages and salaries of the workers and employees of the Soviet Union are regulated as elsewhere by collective agreements. These collective agreements are renewed every year between the Central Committee of the trade unions and the head administrations of the industries. The Government transmits the amounts of the wages to the economic organs. The Central Committee of a trade union, in consultation with the head administration of the branch of industry concerned, fixes the amount of the wages fund for the individual works and factories. This wages fund is taken as the basis upon which the trade unions work out the plan of the collective agreement for each undertaking. The plan is then submitted to the general trade union meetings of the workers and employees, and is discussed in detail. every worker and employee having the right and the full opportunity of proposing amendments to the plan. This collective agreement not only fixes the basic wages for the various grades, the piecework rates and extra allowances but lays down at the same time the measures for improving the material and cultural conditions of the workers, the wage increases to be accorded for greater output, the improvement of safety measures, and the time.

When a collective agreement is concluded, it is thus not merely a matter of settling the sum—total of wages falling to the individual enterprise. It is an agreement discussed by all participants, and worked out, down to the last detail. The negotiations often last for weeks, even months, and every consideration is carefully weighed ; the individual interests of every craft group or trade union, the collective interests of the undertakings, and, finally, the general interests of the whole Socialist State of society.

In every undertaking there is what is called an Arbitration Commission, entrusted with the task of settling all questions arising day by day out of the implementing of the collective agreement. These Arbitration Commissions are composed of equal numbers of representatives of the trade union organisations. The Arbitration Commission

must deal within three days with a complaint entered by a worker, and inform the worker. Should the representatives of the works management and of the trade union, fail to come to an understanding, the question passes for decision to the Peoples' Court.

During the whole term of the validity of the collective agreement, the trade union checks up the activities at periodic intervals, in order to ensure that the agreement is kept up. The trade union activists are mobilised for this purpose. Should any incorrectness, error in accountancy, or fraud, be discovered, the guilty persons are either punished by a public censure, or are brought—should they have acted intentionally or maliciously—before the People's Court.

This does not, however, by any means exhaust the activities of the trade unions in the works and factories. Since the liquidation of the People's Commissariat of Labour in 1933, the whole task of Workers' Protection lies in the hands of the Soviet trade unions. Every trade union has special labour inspectors for legal protection, protection of youth, for the application of the labour legislation and the measures for preventing accidents. etc. These labour inspectors are aided by the trade union representatives of the works or factory when making their regular inspections. It is their task to keep a daily watch on hygienic conditions in the works and factories, and on the carrying out of the labour laws. The Soviet laws contain very sharp regulations against any violation of the laws and regulations ensuring labour safety, and the inspectors are authorised to bring culprits before the courts of Justice. The labour inspectors have also legal authority to supervise the building of new undertakings. Article 138 of the labour law states, for instance : "no plant may be opened, set in operation, or transferred to another building. without the sanction of the labour inspectors and of the boards of sanitary and technical industrial control." The labour inspector ensures that the protecting measures laid down by the law are provided for every kind of work, and that protective clothing and the like are furnished by the undertaking and used by the workers.

In the Soviet Uuion, it is a matter of course that all Trade Union organs, from the top to the bottom, are all built up on the principle of inner trade union democracy, the officials being directly elected and liable to recall. Elections to the trade union committees and all trade Union organs, election of officials, and of delegates to the Congresses and conferences, are by secret ballot. The candidates for the lower trade union organs, are put forward directly by the trade union members at the general members' meetings, while the candidates for the Central Trade Union Council and for the various Central Committees are nominated at the congresses or conferences by the delegates elected by the members' ballots. That candidate is elected who receives an absolute majority of the votes, but in no case less than 50 per cent of the votes of all the electors.

At a meeting between foreign workers' delegates, who had come to Moscow for May 1, and the members of the Presidium of the Central Trade Union Council and the presidents of the Central Committees of the various trade unions, Schvernik, General Secretary of the Soviet trade unions, pointed out that 33.4 percent of the elected members of the trade union Central Committee were non-party and 25 percent women, and that in the lower trade union organisations the proportion among the officials was actually 80 per cent non-party and 27 per cent women.

The Soviet trade unions achieve an enormous amount of work in the social services, their budget running in 1938 to about 6.3 milliard roubles for this purpose. This year over a milliard roubles have been allotted by the trade unions, from the social insurance fund, for the accommodation and treatment of Soviet workers in health resorts, sanatoria, and rest homes. This means that almost three million workers will be able to visit health resorts, sanatoriums, and rest homes this year, free of charge, at the expense of the trade unions.

In 1937 the Soviet trade unions owned 6,759 trade union clubs, and 13,000 libraries with approximately 42 million books. Almost 30,000 study circles,

attended over 900,000 members, were conducted by the trade union clubs in 1937. The trade unions have under their leadership 153 sport stadiums, 578 sports grounds, 21 sports houses, 438 gymnastic halls, 11 ski-ing stations and 135 water sport stations.

During the 21 years of Socialist construction in the Soviet Union, unemployment has been abolished, the seven-hour day made into law, wages increased and the right to work. recuperation, education, and provision for old age, laid down in the constitution. All this has been done, and morse is still being done, with the energetic co-operation of the Soviet trade unions.

The enormous experience accumulated by the Soviet trade unions in these 21 years is extremely instructive for the trade unions and the working class in the capitalist countries where the yoke of exploitation has not yet been cast off.

The trade union movement of the Soviet Union is a united one. It unites the trade unions of the 11 Federal Republics of the U. S. S. R. and of a large number of Autonomous Republics, National Territories, and Nationai Districts. This unity, embodied in the trade union movement of the Soviet Union, wields a great power. There is no more determined opponent of the capitalist system, and of fascism whieh it has engendered, than the working class of the Soviet Union and its trade union movement. Hence, there can be no more reliable and resolutely for the international trade union movement, in the struggle against fascism and war, than the largest organisation of the working class of tha Soviet Union, the Soviet trade unions.

The Soviet trade unions stand for the unity of the international trade union movement, and have stated this repeatedly on officiai occasions. At every possible opportunity they express their solidarity with the struggles of the workers of the capitalist countries. The unity of the trade union movement of the capitalist eountries with the Soviet trade unions would greatly strengthen the fighting powers of the working class of the whole world.

FASCIST CONSPIRACY IN THE SOVIET UNION

By F. Elwyn Jones

"If any country in Europe has any grounds at all for fearing invasion or the threat of invasion, it is Russia and the territories that lie on the path between her and Germany. Passage after passage in Hitler's famous work, MEIN KAMPF, makes no concealment of Germanic expansionist aims in that direction. The Furher's book is still a kind of lay bible to young Germany."

(*The Times, May 18th. 1938.*)

Nazi Leaders, from Hitler down, have made no secret of their ultimate plan to make war upon the Soviet Union. A violent campaign against Soviet Russia has been a consistent theme in Nazi propaganda against the Soviet Union has merged into the use of force against the Government of this vast territory, the fertile Ukraine of which the Nazi imperialists covet. Soviet Russia continually had to defend herself throughout the twenty years of her existence against forcible interference in her internal affairs. Intervention first took the form of direct invasion from without by the Allied Armies of intervention* All these invasions from without were repulsed. Thereupon the enemies of the Soviet Union plotted to disrupt the Sovietregime from within with the help of disaffected elements inside the country. They made use of former landowners and former wealthy peasants, remnants of anarchist and social-revolutionary movements, leaders of anti-Soviet nationalist movements and military adventurers in high places. They were aided by disgruntled politicians whose desire power exceeded their loyalty to the political system they had helped to create.

"Fifth Column" Tactics

Since Hitler came to power the Nazis have attempted to apply to Soviet Russia a technique of disruption which they are using throughout the world They have sought to weaken the Soviet power in time of peace and to prepare a "Fifth Column" within the country to co-operate with their invading forces when the war upon Soviet Russia is launched.

Nazi methods of disruption in the Soviet Union are applied even more intensely than they are elsewhere, and much more secretly because Soviet vigilance is greater. First of all, full use is made of those Soviet citizens of German blood who in some isolated cases are prepared to assist in Nazi espionage. For this purpose, the Gestapo concentrates on those districts in the Soviet Union which are populated by large sections of Germans-the Baltic Germans settled around Leningrad, the German villages in the Ukraine, and particularly in the Volga German Republic.

In addition to these few Germans, the Gestapo makes good use of "visitors" to the Soviet Union. Thus whenever German engineers were engaged to work in the U. S. S. R. they received preliminary instructions from the Gestapo concerning the information they were expected to obtain. There is a special bureau, the RUCKWANDERANT, which concerns itself with the returning specialists as well as those who only return to Germany for vacations. No returning specialist can obtain work in Germany without the approval of this

*Including those of Poland, France and Great Britain in alliance with white-guard Russians inside Russia.

bureau. Even honest workers are in this way forced into espionage. Owing to the industrial backwardness of Tzarist Russia, the Soviet Government was obliged to import skilled engineers from the U. S. A. and Germany for some time. This defect is now being overcome and Soviet specialists are taking over.

All German business with Russia is conducted through the "Russian Committee of German industry". The Head of this Committee, a one-time German spy, served as officer in the German army during the occupation of Ukraine.

The Gestapo also uses the various Soviet export organisations, Grain Export, Lumber Export, etc., which have branches in Soviet part towns. *Pravda* has exposed a whole series of cases illustrating the methods of German espionage in those trading organisations.

A White Guard Organisation

Another profitable field for Nazi activity is among the Russian white emigres whom the Nazis assist materially in their plans for reconquering their lost power.

In 1938 the "Russian National Movement of Liberation", known under the name of "Rond" was created. It was organised on military lines by a former Tzarist officer who drilled groups on the Nazi Storm Troop Model. Their uniform included black shirts decorated with a green and white swastika. The activities of Rond were true to Nazi type. Its members plundered in Lubeck, attacking wealthy jews from whom they exacted tribute-money. This brigandage became so notorious that eventually even the organisation of Russian whites abroad refused to work with the Rond. Rosenberg, who wanted to group all the White Russian emigres under Nazi leadership, was obliged to ban the Road towards the end of 1933, but in fact the Rond continued its activities under a new name, the "German-Russian Standard".

Collaborating with the Rond was an ex-prince who had fought with the armies of intervention in Finland, Estonia and Latvia. After the victory of the Red Army, the remains of the Interventionists' Armies dispersed into the Baltic countries along the Soviet border. There they are now being reorganised—from Berlin.

Since 1933, the Whites in the Baltic states have been working in collaboration with the Nazi Foreign Office. In April, 1934 they established headquarters at Tilsit, near the Lithuanian frontier. They reassembled remnants of their former troops and enrolled them in the newly formed "Baltic Legion" and "Russian Legion",

The Russian Fascist Party

The Nazis also support the "All Russian Fascist Party", which was created in the first year of Hitler's rule. Its newspaper the "Fascist" is published under the auspices of the Nazi authorities in Berlin.

Details of the ramifications of the "All Russian Fascist Party" were revealed in March of this year (1938) at the espionage trial in Berne of Boris Teodtli, a Swiss citizen of Russian extraction and leader in Europe of the "All Russian Fascists".

From the secret documents which the Swiss Police seized it was discovered that the headquarters of the Russian Fascists are in Harbin, in Manchuria. From Harbin, Fascist intervention in the Far Eastern Territory of the Soviet Union is being organised.

> "The Russian Fascist Central Offices in Harbin are under the protection of Japan", states a letter written by a certain Rodionov-Kvachnin.

The Russian Fascist Party has its agencies all over the world. A document marked "Order No. 33" read out at the Berne trial contained the names of the group leaders in the various countries. There are official leaders of the Russion Fascist Party in China, Japan, Germany and Jugoslavia; secret leaders in Bulgaria, Poland, Switzerland, U. S. A., and South America. The sections of the Russians of the Russian Fascist Party in England, France, Belgium, Italy, Algeria, Morocco and the Congo Territory were under jurisdiction of the European leader Toedtli.

Espionage

The Russian Fascist Party sends its agents into Soviet territory to collect

military information, and reports its discoveries to the potential enemies of the Soviet Union. Thus a report of a meeting of the Soviet Odessa garrison which took place on April 16th, 1936, was found in Toedtli's possession. A letter dated November 7th, 1936, from the Warsaw agent of the Russian Fascist Party ran:

> "Thank you very much for the information about submarines. So secure the favour of authorities. I have decided to supply the departments concerned with interesting material, through the good offices of a third person."

Toedtli's organisation also conducted espionage work for the Gestapo. In a letter to the Chief of the Bulgarian Section of the Russian Fascist Party on May 2nd, 1936, Toedtli wrote:

> "Your task: it is imperative to collect information concerning all those of any prominence among the emigres and those connected with Jews and Freemasons. All such information is to be sent to me and I will forward it. In Erfurt (in Germany) we maintain an office to fight the 'Dark forces' of emigration."

For this work Toedtli's organisation was well repaid by the Nazis. A letter dated May 1936 promised a subsidy from the Nazi Propaganda Ministry. Their greatest triumph was achieved in 1935 when Toedtli was able to report in a letter (dated October 16th):

> "I have at last achieved what I would never even have dreamed of. A person who has been a friend of mine for many years spoke to HITLER about the All-Russian Fascist Party, and I have received a letter from the Fuhrer's Chancery expressing his desire to learn more about the ideas of the Party. Our prospects are sure to brighten up."

The Nazi Party thereupon co-operated actively in Toedtli's work and in April, 1936 he was able to inform his Warsaw agent that:

"By order of Ribbentrop you will get a visa without any difficulty"

Finally, the Swiss police found a secret order dated January 26th, 1936, above signature of the Russian Fascist Chief, concerning the proposed assasination in the Soviet Union of a well-known official of the G. P. U., timed to take place "not later than January 1937."

Hitler Fears Soviet Union

Since 1934, Nazi interference in the U. S. S. R. has intensified. The weakening of the Soviet Union has become vital to the success of the Nazi war policy. Hitler himself is only too well aware of the strength of the Soviet Union. He told Londonderry in 1936:

"Against this decay in continental Europe stands the extraordinary development. Hitler then summarized the following facts:

"1. In Russia one has to deal with a nation of 180 millions.

2. Russia is territorially immune from attack.

3. Russia can never be overcome by a blockade.

4. Russian industrial centres are from 4,000 to 6,000 kilometers from the frontiers.

...Russia has a solid trade the strongest Army, the strongest Tank Corps and the strongest Air Force in the world. These are facts which cannot be ignored."

This realisation of the tremendous power of Soviet Russia led the Nazis to make desperate plans for its disruption from the inside.

Reference has already been made to the fact that it is not difficult for the Fascists to find allies in the democratic states. In Belgium, in Holland, even in Scandinavia, it has been established that there are "patriots" quite prepared to sell their own country when they can get powerful assistance from Fascists abroad in their struggle against the progressive forces at home.

In Soviet Russia, the task of the Fascists is infinitely more difficult. The capitalist has long been eliminated from the Soviet scene. In default of capitalists, Nazi interventionists sought as allies inside the Soviet Union, a group of disaffected politicians animated by such hostility towards the Soviet Government that they were prepared to conspire with

the enemies of their country in the hope of bringing down the Soviet Government.

Three Conspiratorial Groups

Three main conspiratorial groups established themselves, the "Trotskyites", the "Rights" and the "Tukhachevsky" group.

The Trotskyites had at one time been a special group within the revolutionary movement, where they propounded the theory that "Socialism could not be built up in one country".

They were overwhelmingly defeated in the Communist Partv Referendum in 1927, in which 724,000 members voted for the Bolsheviks and against the Trotskyites, who only received 4,000 votes. Their subsequent refusal to accept this majority decision brought about their expulsion from the Communist Party. A little later many of the prominent Trotskyites were readmitted to the Communist Party on professing at change of opinion after Trotsky had been sent into exile. Some of the "ex"-Trotskyites on account of their administrative ability were given positions of trust. Thereupon, in accordance with secret pre-arranged plans, they set out systematically to use their position to undermine socialist construction. They hoped by so doing to spread dissatisfaction against the Soviet Government in order to enable them to supplant it by a Government of their own.

The Rights, headed by Rykov, Tomsky and Bukharin, were opposed to the Five-Year Plan for the industrialization of the U.S.S.R. and the collectivization of agriculture. Having been defeated at the Communist Party Central Committee Session of April, 1929, the Rightists began their counter-revolutionary activity in secret. In 1932 they linked up with the Trotskyites.

The Tukhachevsky group of military adventurers with Buonapartist ambitions, were the third group of conspirators. Krestinsky, at his trial in March 1938, described Tukhachevsky as,

> "a man of Buonapartist type an adventurer, an ambitious man who strove not only for a military but also for a military-political role, and who would unquestionably make common cause with us."

The success of the Five-Year Plan frustrated the hopes of the conspirators who had counted on its collapse. But with the advent of Hitler to power in 1933, the conspiracy quickened and in that year, the three conspiratorial groups merged into one. "The Bloc of Rights and Trotskyites" According to Krestinsky's testimony at his trial:—

> "The first line to take was for an agreement with foreign Governments, the second for combining the forces of the Trotskyites, the Right and the military conspirators within the Soviet Union."

Trotsky and the Nazis

Krestinsky added that at Meran in 1933 Trotsky made it clear that even this bloc would be strong enough and that it was necessary for the bloc to come to terms with the Fascists. The Fascist Powers were willing, but stipulated for the dismemberment of the U.S.S.R. Ukraine to Germany, Belorussia to Poland, the Maritime Provinces to Japan etc. At his trial Bukharin testified as follows:

> "Radek told me of his negotiations with Trotsky, that Trotsky had engaged in negotiations with the German Fascists regarding territorial concessions in return for help to the counter-revolutionary organisations."

Espionage, Wrecking and Murder

The plotters eventually agreed and proceeded to link up with and foment counter-revolutionary elements within the U.S.S.R. They were the Fascist Trojan Horse inside the Soviet Union. In addition to espionage and wrecking (intended to arouse discontent among the masses) the conspirators planned several desperate measures.

The first was the assassination of Soviet leaders. Kirov, Menzhinsky and others were in fact assassinated. The second was a *coup d'etat* involving the seizure of the Kremlin. *Finally, war by the Fascist Powers upon the U. S. S. R,*

The fact that Yagoda, Chief of the Soviet Intelligence (G. P. U.) was a member of this bloc enabled their acti-

-vities to continue, undetected, for some considerable time. Yagoda, at his trial testified:

> "When the Rights adopted illegal methods in their struggle against the Soviet Government, the centre of the Rights entrusted me with the task of guarding the organisation of the Rights against exposure. On the strength of this understanding, I took all measures in the course of a number of years, to guard the organisation, particularly its centre, against exposure. I must state here with full responsibility, that it was my treasonable work in the people's Commissariat of Internal affairs which must be blamed for the fact that it was not until the years 1937-38 that the Soviet Government and the People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs were able to uncover and liquidate the counter-revolutionary activities of the organisation of the Rights and the bloc of Rights and Trotskyites."

Owing to the vigilance of the Soviet authorities, however, this vast conspiracy has been exposed, and the series of historic trials in which the participants were brought to justice, have exposed the preparation for war which the Fascist International is attempting to make *inside the Soviet Union.*

Much criticism has been levelled against these trials. "Explanations" many of them ludicrous, to account for the prisoners' confessions, have been put forward. Bukharin himself at his trial disposes of such "explanations".

> "Repentance is often attributed to diverse and absolutely absurd things like Tibetan powers and the like. I must say of myself that in prison, where I was confined over a year, I worked, studied, and retained my clarity of mind......Hypnotism is suggested. But I conducted my own defence in Court from the legal standpoint too, orientated myself on the spot, argued with the State Prosecutor; and anybody, even a man who had a little experience in this branch of medicine, must admit that hypnotism of this kind is altogether impossible. This repentance is often attributed to the specific properties of the soul (L'ame slave)......But that is not the case here at all."

Sir Bernard Pares has pointed out:

> "Radek and Bukharin, two exceedingly clever men, were intellectually at their very best in their respective trials. Both of them by sheer ability, to a certain extent forced their direction of the examination upon the public prosecutor."

Most of those who have followed the Russian trials closely are now quite convinced (as was the *Times* Correspondent after hearing the evidence of Bukharin) of the undoubted reality of the whole conspiracy.

> "It is significant", as Paul Winterton has observed, "that scepticism about the *bona fides* of the trials seems to increase in geometric ratio "with the sceptics' distance from the original setting. Throughout Russia there is an honest conviction that a genuine and dangerous attack had been attempted on the Soviet State; although in England each new trial came as separate and individual shock. In Russia they all appeared as the outcome of the same general plot."

In Czeckoslovakia, which country having a pact of Mutual Assistance with the Soviet Union, has most to lose by a weakening of the Soviet Union, the well-informed Foreign Office has declared that it is satisfied as to the genuineness of the plots and the measures taken against them. (Written before the Munich betrayal—Ed.)

Why They Turned Traitors

The evidence of Bukharin, Radek and the others made it clear that at each of the crises with which the Soviet Union has been faced, they despaired of success. They made up their minds, that the Soviet policy must be altered at all costs even to the assassination of the Soviet Leaders like Kirov, who in December 1934 was in fact murdered in Leningrad by a member of this group.

Radek explained the process of thought animating his group thus:

> "The victory of Fascism in Germany. The growth of Japanese aggression.

The inevitability of these countries waging war against the U. S. S. R. The inevitable defeat of the U. S. S. R. The necessity for the bloc, if it came into power, to make concessions......"

It was this argument, that led eventually to treason. Radek himself in 1935 had come to the conclusion that this defeatism was groundless and that,

"all the conditions of victory"

existed in the Soviet Union. Furthermore, Radek found,

"that agents of foreign powers were becoming wedged in our organisation, that our organisation was becoming the direct representative of foreign intelligence services"

It was in these circumstances, that Radek decided that he ought to make a statement to the authorities. But as he put it:

"This I did not do. It was not I that went to the G. P. U. but the G. P. U. that came for me."

It is important to note that there was no mass support for the conspiratorial bloc, because the Soviet masses are loyal to the regime which is giving them increasing material prosperity. Krestinsky testified at his trial:

"The masses were against us, and an open struggle offered no prospect of success."

Because of this failure to obtain a mass following, the conspirators were obliged to seek help abroad.

The Soviet trials have to some extent had a weakening effect upon Russian prestige in some Government circles in Western Europe. But in view of the danger which the trials have eliminated this loss in prestige is more than compensated for by the disasters which have been avoided. In Spain a parallel situation arose in 1936. Unchecked, the conspirators, aided by Hitler and Mussolini, succeeded in unleashing war upon Spanish Republic. The resolute action of the Soviet authorities has, for the time being at least, held up the attack upon the Soviet Union and postponed the outbreak of world war.

WHAT THE COMMUNISTS WANT— SCIENCE IN THE SERVICE OF HUMANITY

By Maurice Thorez

General Secretary, Communist Party of France.

In spite of the dreams of capitalism it is impossible to put back the clock and return to the patriarchal Middle Ages and the guilds. It is equally impossible to sweep away the capitalism of to-day with its big trusts and privately owned monopolies, and return to the free competition of the nineteenth century.

The only use capitalism has made of science in industry is to increase its profits. It increased output at ths expense of the physical and moral health of the workers. The results of rationalization are to be seen not only in the increased number of accidents, but in the amazing draining away of all mental and physical energy which overtakes the workers in modern factories. But capitalist rationalization will bc followed by the human rationalization which will raise the standard of production while giving every consideration to the wellbeing of the workers,

To decide in advance what consumption goods to produce, what means of production to use, and what new means to create; what investments are necessary for the development of industry, the time required for the carrying out of shemes of work; these are, in broad outline, the elements of an economic plan, the basis of a planned economy which is at once fully aware of its present and future aims. In this way we can

assure man's control over economic forces.

We shall see, then, an extremely rapid increase in production, which in turn will lead to a remarkable reduction in working hours. At the present moment, our general level of production is slightly below that of 1913. In 1930, when it reached its maximum, it was not 40 per cent higher than before the War. By utilizing France's capacity for production to the full, by putting it at the service of the whole people, by encouraging and increasing technical inventions, we could open up an era of happiness for our country.

It has been reckoned that, since 1933, civilized humanity has destroyed or left to rot, a quantity of goods sufficient to feed and clothe in comfort over 30 million people—the exact *official* number of unemployed in the world.

In 1830, according to American statistics, a bushel of wheat took 57.7 hours to produce, in 1930, a bushel can be produced in only 3.3 hours, with the aid of combined reaping and threshing machines and motor-tractors. A quick worker can knit 150-200 stitches a minute by hand with a rectilinear machine with multiple chucks 360,000 stitches a minute and with a circular machine with double courses, 480,000 stitches.

In 1830, a worker took two days to make a pair of shoes; in 1934 they could be made in an hour. Since 1933 there has been in existence at Zilnn a machine which is not used, because it can make shoes without any human intervention at all, apart from putting laces into the completed pairs.

In 1914, 1,500 hours of work went into the making of a motor-car. In 1934, only 230 hours were required. It is clear, then that once man is master of the machine, human labour can continually be reduced.

All this is technically and scientifically possible. But the present system prevents it. The Communists are the only people who want and know how to bring into existence the age of plenty and of international friendship. Science to-day is ahead of justice. Capitalism wants to stop the march of science in order to prevent justice. We, on the contrary, are determined to bring science into harmony with justice, for we know that such a thing is possible.

"In France", writes Professor Langevin, "We have an electrical supply system which, though comprising only a small part of her total sources of energy, nevertheless puts at every man's disposal, a willing and educated slave, well-trained, free from all diseases. Thanks to their dynamos alone, the French people possess 40 million slaves of magnificent physique, of unsurpassed energy and infinite adaptability. They can heat us and cool us, give us light, amuse us, take care of us, cook and keep house for us, see or feel for us......With their help we can recreate the ancient miracle of the *Superman*, freed from servile labour................."

In an economy freed from capitalist exploitation the total product of national labour will be returned to the nation. The workers in socialist factories will benefit from the products of their labour, firstly as individuals and secondly as members of a collective State, its value being returned to them not only as wages, but also in the forms of economic, social and cultural expenditure. The disappearance of exploitation and surplus value will weed out the parasites. A continuous reduction in working hours will mean that overproduction, with its train of unhappiness and suffering, will become an impossiblity. Mankind will devote his increasing leisure to his own transformation and development.

ON GUARD FOR SPAIN

MANIFESTO OF COMMUNISTS OF ELEVEN COUNTRIES

Withdraw Germans and Italians from Spain
Apply sanctions to Aggressors End Blockade of Republic
Call International Conference

A Crime Against World Peace Was Committed on September 30 at Munich, where Mr. Chamberlain and Daladier sacrificed to international Fascism the Independence of Czechoslovakia and the Cause of the Security of Peoples.

The Munich crime must be included in the long list of capitulation to the warmakers of international Fascism.

The dismemberment of Czechoslovakia continues the policy of complicity which helped Mussolini in the conquest of Abyssinia.

It continues the policy of complacence which allowed Hitler to occupy the demilitarised zone of the Rhineland in violation of international agreement.

It Continues the abominable policy adopted by the French and British Governments towards Republican Spain. the armed invasion of which by Italian and German Fascists has been tolerated and masked under the pretence of non-intervention.

In Liberty And Peace

It continues, too, the policy of capitution followed by the British and French Governments at the time when Hitler annexed Austria, whose independence he guaranteed.

It continues the policy of weakening the League of Nations, which peoples had hoped would safeguard peace and whose impotence they today admit as a result of the violation of international engagements by the Governments of Britain and France.

"The people want to live in liberty and peace. They want neither the servitude of Fascism nor the massacres of war, and they ask themselves why there have been so many capitulations before Fascism, compromising at the same time democracy, social progress and world peace.

The saving of peace matters little to the dominating classes of capitalist countries. What they want above all is to maintain intact their privileges. The Munich dictates express the attempt of the big capitalists of Britain and France (whose servants Messrs. Chamberlain and Daladier are) to save Fascism—for in Fascism they see the guarantee of their own class interests which they think are more important than the national interests.

Premier's Great Betrayal

Chamberlain's great betrayal was directed not only against Czechoslovakia which has been delivered up to Hitler, but also against France, which international Facism would isolate in order to destroy it next.

It is directed towards Republican Spain which they wish to share Czechoslovakia's fate.

It is directed against the small countries which predatory Governments want to inflame.

It is directed against democracy and social progress which they wish to

destroy as much in Britain as in France and elsewhere.

It is directed against the Soviet Union in which the workers of all lands and the small States, whose existence is threatened, see the bulwark of peace in the world.

The Munich betrayal has not saved peace; on the contrary, it has endangered it in striking a blow at the unity of peaceful forces in all lands and in encouraging the Fascists to increase their demands, since they believe themselves to be supported by reactionary circles in the different countries,

But the shameful Munich dictates, on which Hitler and Mussolini cynically congratulate themselves, was only arrived at after provocation that must be denounced before the civilised world.

Whitewashing The Fascists

Mobilisation in France and Britain was used to terrify the population; to increase fear of war into a paroxysm; to have the betrayal of peace accepted as a relief.

While in all countries, working people know that the word "Fascism" is synonymous with slavery and war; while they have shown their wish not to give way to the war blackmail of the Berlin and Rome Governments, Chamberlain and Daladiar have tried with the Munich betrayal to let Hitler and Mussolini look as though they have made sacrifices in the cause of peace, although everything has been given to them.

At the same time, to conceal their betrayal of the cause of peace, the Munich capitulators have organised an abominable campaign against the proved defenders of peace, accusing them of wanting war.

Could Have Been Stopped

For more than two years, with indescribable suffering, the Spanish people have been defending their freedom and their country against the Fascist invaders; in spite of the policy of so-called non-intervention, they are resisting victoriously, armies with superior equipment; in Rome and Berlin Fascism despairs of breaking the resistance of Republican Spain—but the Munich capitulators are now preparing to make Spain a new Czechoslovakia and deliver it up to Mussolini and Hitler.

The Munich betrayal could have been stopped if all working-class forces had been united in a single struggle for bread, liberty and peace.

The Munich betrayal could have been avoided if the numerous and pressing appeals for unity of action made by the Communist International had not been rejected by the Socialist International.

Declarations And Acts

The Munich betrayal could have been prevented if all international workers' organisations had been grouped in a single front of struggle, and if the affiliation of the Soviet Trade Unions to the International Federation of Trade Unions had not been rejected by the reactionary leaders of that organisation.

The Munich betrayal could have been prevented if the resolutions of the Socialist International and the I.F.T.U., which in spite of everything declared against Fascism, had been applied; if there had not been at all times a contradiction between declarations and acts.

The Munich betrayal, which will remain the shame of all who have approved it, shows the desire of big business to support an offensive against the working masses in all lands, to destroy social gains, destroy democratic liberties and impose a policy of enslavement and war.

Proletarians of all lands, whose means of existence is threatened by Fascism, unite, because your victorious resistance depends on your unity.

Workers, Communists and Socialists struggle together against your common enemy.

Peace is not Lost

Despite the Munich betrayal, the cause of peace is not lost. Already in all lands the anger of the people is mounting against this betrayal. Everywhere the peace-loving forces who, as President Roosevelt says, constitute the great majority of humanity, see in the Soviet Union, always faithful to its engage-

ments the great hope of civilisation and peace.

What is to be done now is to organise these forces, which, if they stay united, are unbeatable, both from the material and moral point of view. Unhappy be those who try to oppose this indispensable unity on the result of which the workers must concentrate without rest and without respite.

Struggle for the defence of peace by defending Republican Spain whose every day of resistance is a victory over the Munich dictates.

What it Means

All on guard to prevent a new crime ; no foreign intervention in Spain, Spain for the Spaniards. This is the rallying cry of all partisans of peace who want to see the invading Germans and Italians removed from Spanish territory.

The struggle for peace involves the lining up of people in all countries against those who want to annihilate the Spanish Republic after having sold Czechoslovakia to Fascism. The struggle for peace means uniting the broadest sections of the people in a vast action of solidarity for the Spanish people, whose spirit of sacrifice is only equalled by its heroism.

The struggle for peace means compelling the Governments, through the widest popular action of the people, to:—

(1) *Force the effective withdrawal of Italian and German troops from Spain.*

(2) *To apply sanctions to the Fascist aggresors.*

(3) *End the blockade of Republican Spain to which the rights of international law must be granted.*

Raise Your Voices

To this noble task we call the workers. They will know how to utilise all the methods in their powers to repulse the forces of social reaction and war and to give by their unity a signal for the gathering together of the largest possible groupings of the people.

At the first attempt of the men of Munich to do to Spain what they have already done to Czechoslovakia popular protest must raise its voice everywhere, firm and resolute, determined to stop at nothing to prevent this new crime against peace.

Against the treason and the issue of Munich; for peace and dignity, and the independence of peoples: for the defence of democracy and social progress; in the interests of the people, we call you to struggle with all your forces. We urge you to insist that the leaders of the Socialist International and the International Federation of Trade Unions call an international conference (which, ignoring the interests of the world of Labour, they have so far refused to do) with the object of organising the struggle against Fascism, against war, for the defence of Czechoslovakia and to save Spain and peace.

Unite To Win Peace

Let the forces of peace be organised from the smallest village to the biggest city; let each country realise the unity of all defenders of peace, let defence of heroic Spain everywhere be organised; let the growing solidarity with Spain, to whom must be given bread, clothing, etc., be made to triumph.

No! Fascism will not pass ; the forces of war will not triumph over the forces of peace. The people of France, Britain, of the United States, supporting the Soviet Union, constitute a force for peace which can draw in the small States and give confidence to sacrificed Czechoslovakia and the martyred peoples of Germany and Italy.

Men and women of good will, unite to win the great battle of peace.

The statement is signed by :—

M. Thorez, C. P. of France.
H. Pollitt, C. P. of Great Britain.
J. Diaz and Ibarurri C.P. of Spain.
C. Gottwald, C. P. of Czechoslovokia.
Earl Browder, C. P. of U. S. A.
Wilhelm Pieck, C. P. of Germany.
P. Ercoli, C. P. of Italy.
X. Relecom, C. P. of Belgium.
Humbert Droz, C. P. of Switzerland.
Linderot, C. P. of Sweden.
Tim Buck, C. P. of Canada.

BRITISH COMMUNISTS IN CONGRESS

HARRY POLLITT'S SPEECH

The 15th Congress of the Communist Party is being held in Birmingham as a challenge to the Chamberlain Government, which is betraying the national interests of the British people, no less than it is betraying the interests of world peace.

The pro-Fascist policy is a step towards an attack on their democratic rights. The small clique of monopoly capitalists who dominate their destiny and the destiny of the Empire, wish to create a state of affairs similar to that in Germany, because they see in the Labour movement a hindrance to the free development of their class interests.

Our Congress has one supreme aim—to formulate a policy that will help the labour movement, and all progressive people who realise the serious consequences of the economic crisis, the threat of war and the peril that faces democracy, to combine in one common effort to overthrow the national Government.

No time for waiting

This is no time for waiting to see the way the tiger jumps.

This is the moment to ensure that the people assert themselves and make it impossible for the tiger to jump at all.

If Hitler is the "misunderstood" person that Chamberlain, Citrine, Lansbury and others would have us believe, let him call off his present mobilisation, let Germany enter the League of Nations, let the Fascists withdraw their forces from Spain.

Let them call off the Nazi murder campaign in Czechoslovakia.

The National Government is not only a rich man's Government, it is a Government of rich men.

Chamberlain himself has sprung from a family of rapacious Birmingham capitalists—a section of the ruling-class that rivals even the Durham mine-owners in its aggressive and reckless search for profits.

How can we best fight the whole policy of the National Government and monopoly capitalism ?

The main responsibility for this falls upon the Labour movement. Unfortunately, it is passive, confused and disunited, at the moment when it needs to be active, clear and united.

"The Right-wing Labour leadership seeks co-operation with Chamberlaiu, and adopt a policy which keeps the weak.

The Labour movement must be transformed if the needs of millions are to be satisfied. That is why the Communist Party has carried out its struggle for unity : why we say "Away with passivity and collaboration with the millionaires. Forward to a policy of working-class unity and struggle !"

Programme of Demands

United action is the supreme need of the moment. It can and will be achieved.

Let us start to organise it now, and campaign so that it is carried out by a United Labour movement. It could achieve its purpose, at the same time as it would recruit new members to the Labour Party, Trade Unions, Co-operatives and the Communist Party.

In the first place, the organised and unorganised workers can strike a heavy blow against the economic crisis by not only standing firm against 'wage cuts'—which have already begun—but by making a definite forward movement for higher wages for all who are below the subsistence level; especially in regard to women and juveniles and the lower-paid sections generally.

To raise wages and to protect existing rates, means increasing purchasing power, and makes things easier for the shopkeepers and the farmers,

The immediate raising of the school-leaving age to 16, with maintenance grants, is another long-overdue measure which the crisis makes even more urgent.

We must campaign for lower prices and rents, for the lightening of the burdens on small incomes, and stop tax evasions by the rich.

We should force the abolition of the Means Test and insist on real help to the depressed areas, and the carrying out of large-scale schemes of building—houses, schools, hospitals, playing fields, welfare clinics, maternity clinics and other constructive works of social value to the health and well-being of the people.

In no sphere is organised advance and assistance more urgent than in agriculture and fishing, which are now beiny deliberately held back. We must insist on State help being given to the actual producers instead of the middlemen and monopolists, raise the level of production and give more employment and better conditions in these industries.

We must organise our campaign by means of factory-gate meetings, mass demonstations, local conferences and a great national united Labour Conference, mobilising every speaker, writer and artist in the movement.

It is because of our knowledge that this programme is what the workers want and demand, in order to change entirely the present situation of passivity that we of the Communist Party express our burning desire for working-class unity. For this purpose we declare our readiness to affiliate to the Labour Party loyally accepting its constitution and expecting no special privileges.

The great tasks standing before the workers of Britain cannot be fulfilled without the strengthening and reorganisation of the trade union movement.

Our Congress must insist that the whole Party should carry through a sustained drive for trade union unity in Britain, because of the new situation and problems.

The Communist Party holds out the hand of friendship to all those, regardless of their political and religious convictions, who are willing to co-operate in the building up of a common front, for economic security, peace and democracy.

Strengthen Communist Party

In view of the magnitude of the issues that face the people, in view of the responsibility of the Communist Party, we must recognise that our present position is entirely inadequate to meet the needs of the situation.

We have only 15,570 members with which to lead millions. Our influence can still only reach a small minority.

Many times recently we have been asked: "Why don't you dissolve the Communist Party and join the Labour Party?"

We should be only too happy to see one political party of the working-class in Britain, if the Labour Party fulfilled the tasks of leadership in every field or if they were energetic in training and organising the workers on the basis of the class struggle and revolutionary Marxism.

Change in Education

Consider what would be the political situation in Britain if there had been no Communist Party during the last two years.

Who would have lead the fight against the National Government? Who would have initiated the mass-struggles against the Means Test and the U. A. B.? Who would have supported the Harworth miners and London busmen? Or the great youth strikes and the Youth Charter?

It was the Communist Party who checked the breakaway busmen's union; it was the Communist Party which bore the brunt of the resistance to Mostey; it was the Communist Party which leads the fight for unity, economic security, liberty, peace and Socialism.

It was the Communist Party which was, and is, most active in support of Spain and China.

The main drive of the Communist Party must be in the factories and trade unions.

If the Party is strong in the factories and trade unions, it means the difference between impotence and real political life and influence—between temporary enthusiasm and real power on a lasting basis.

We are now carrying through a great change in the whole method of Party education, and why we are trying new forms, training classes, study circles and public lectures.

We must destroy the idea that literature is a separate, almost outside, activity of the Party. It must be interwoven into its general life.

Without doubt the most powerful weapon we have for leading and popularising the policy of the Communist Party, and through this uniting and strengthening the whole Labour and Democratic movement, is the "Daily Worker."

I am afraid on the whole we take the daily miracle far too easily, treat it as an ordinary daily occurrence.

There may be things wrong with the "Daily Worker" but who was right about the deepness of the crisis—the *Daily Worker* or the *Daily Express* and *Daily Herald?* We are small, but we are responsible for keeping a tidy proportion of such honesty in the Press as there is.

We are aiming to be the voice not only of the Labour movement, but of all that is decent and progressive in Britain.

A strong Communist Party and increased circulation for the "Daily Worker" in Britain are a necessity for its people and the people of the world.

We meet under the shadow of war, a near shadow that has struck home to all the people of Britain what this country means to us. Too long have we let the Rich pretend the country was only theirs.

We want a grip on our land. Who can reconstruct our land, its industry, its derelict areas, those insults piled up by Mammon to make a mock of us? Who can do it better than the craftsmen of Clyde and Tyneside, of Manchester, Sheffield, Birmingham and South Wales?

In the agriculturist as in the latest young aircraft designer, we have behind us a tradition of craftsmanship, of loyalty to the job (though not to the boss) that will be the mainspring of our future Britain.

We build on the sturdy fighting democratic traditions of the British people, on their love of country, on their craft and skill and unity.

When a case based on reason and facts is put them, no nation is so willing, so ready to act. We say that it is time that reason shall prevail in Britain.

Then the people will move towards economic security, peace and democracy and Socialism.

SPAIN FIGHTS FOR YOU— FIGHT FOR SPAIN

PASIONARIA'S FLAMING APPEAL

(This meeting held in Paris on July 26th, 1930 which was attended by 10,000 people, was attended by delegates from China, Czechoslovakia the British T.U.C. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru attended on behalf of India.

Comrade Pasionaria was received with tremendous applause and the cry "OPEN THE FRONTIER". She was greeted with the Riego hymn. A Chinese delegation handed her a bunch of flowers and a Chinese Flag.)

There are moments in life when words no longer come to one's lips because one's heart is full. You must pardon my emotion, aroused by the affectionate greeting from the Chinese delegation. For they are our brothers, the youth of China, fighting against the Japanese invader for the independence of their country, and desirous of showing their solidarity with the Spain which is

struggling for peace and liberty. (Applause)

Comrades and friends of free and democratic France, I bring you the greeting of the heroic and immortal Spain which, in spite of severe trials in spite of all setbacks, despite the severest attacks of the interventionist armies, has been able to discover in the heroism of her soldiers, the spirit of sacrifice of her workers and the selflessness of her women—who manifest above all their love for the independence and freedom of their country—the strength sufficient to combat and courageously resist the most drastic onslaught of German and Italian troops.

We have come here to tell you that, after two years of war, of hard fighting ond great battles—two years during which our people, alone, abandoned by the Governments of the democratic countries, and opposed by the enemy's superior armaments, has been compelled to yield territory, foot by foot that *Spain is still living in every fibre, that Spain is prepared for every sacrifice, even to die if it must be, but never—never—will she decide to live under the shameful yoke of facist slavery.* (Overwhelming applause.)

A people united against traitors

When, two years ago, we told all peoples across the frontiers what was the significance of our struggle we felt certain that finally truth would prevail and the justice of the cause of the Spanish Republic would be recognised.

Our war began with the revolt of a group of generals who were traitors to their country and the wretched tools of those who desire to seize our beautiful homeland. But, when it came to a struggle between these militarists and the people—who rallied to the Republic—it was the Republic which gained the victory.

In MADRID the uprising was suppressed. General Mola's march on the capital was checked by our militia on the slopes of the Sierra of Guadarama. In CATALONIA, the entire people, placed on a war footing and side by side with the President of the Generalidad, stamped out the rebellion at the moment of its outbreak, and the chief leaders of the uprising were arrested and handed over to the military courts.

It was the same in the *Asturies*, at the Simancas barracks, as well as in the heroic fight in the garrisons of Loyola at *San Sebastain*, at *Malaga Almeria*, *Bilbao*, and many other Spanish towns. Everywhere, during those early days, the militia dealt crushing blows at the rebel military.

The Foreign Invader

When was it then, that the Republic began to suffer reverses? Only when foreign troops entered into action. Only when the Moorish barbarians came from Africa to the Peninsula, thirsting for blood and debauchery, Moors who had been promised as booty the women of the towns and villages which they would capture. Only when Germany and Italy so shamelessly intervened by sending to Spain, not volunteer mercenaries, but regular army units equipped with powerful and abundant war material. Only when German and Italian warships—some openly, others under disguise—shelled our parts and sea-coast towns. Only when the Non-Intervention Committee closed our frontiers in order to prevent the Republic Government from purchasing abroad those arms which it needs for its defence.

And, whilst the enemy had hundreds of airplanes, we had no planes. While we had no artillery or machine-guns, the enemy let loose upon our lines flood of iron and machine-gun bullets. (Cries of "Open the frontier.")

Yet, under these conditions of inferiority, the Spanish Republic has little by little, created a war industry; out of the womb of the people it has brought forth that army of heroes the People's Army which—after having inscribed in history's pages its magnificent defence of Madrid, its battles at Jarama, the Italin route at Guadalajara, the retaking of Belchite and Teruel—is now amazing the world by its heroic resistance to the Italian troops on the Levant front.

Spain Will Never Be Fascist

Comrade STALIN, glorious leader of the world proletariat, has with magnifiicent discernment stated, right from the beginning of the war, that the cause of Spain is "the common cause of all advanced and progressive mankind". (Applause, cries of "Long live Stalin.")

And this is indeed true. It is in Spain that there are taking place the first encounters between democracy and fascism—fascism which desired to stretch its tentacles across the world, in order to strangle liberty and progress. Our people have accepted with pride the full responsibility of the task allotted to them by histroy.

Spain does not want to be fascist, nor will she ever be! One of the most convincing proofs of the will of our people is that, when the enemy seizes a new village, the inhabitants fly in an exodus of horror, machine-gunned by the enemy's planes, seeking shelter in the towns and villages still free from the invader.

What more striking example can there be for us thanthat of these Spaniards who would abandon their homes their beloved countryside, rather than live beneath the brutal yoke of the fascist invader?

But this fact, while it fills us with pride, also sets up vast problems for our Government and people. We have had to give asylum on loyal territory to over two million refugees. Our Government must feed them and attend to all their needs. This means that we are confronted with a vast over-population of Republican Spain.

Spain Fights For All

We lack much. Our people are hungry. We have no shame in announcing this because this hunger is the result of the infamous blockade, to which our people are subjected, to the shame of the civilised world and also because the people of all countries which were in the war went through the same suffering as we do now.

Spain's example serves the cause of all peoples. We shall resist as long as *it* is necessary; for, Communists, Anarchists. Socialists, Republicans—our whole people—are united behind the Government, under the banner of the Republic, for the independence of Spain the defence of the democratic revolution whose policies were made known to the whole world recently in Prime Minister Negrin's Thirteen Points.

It is for this reason, comrades of France, that you must preserve the unity you have already achieved, and endeavour to expand and consolidate it. Without unity, our people would never been able to continue their resistance, through out the last two painful years of war, not have been able to create the conditions of the victory which, sooner or later must crown our Struggle.

The Agents of the Enemy

In order to obtain such results, it is essential to struggle actively against those enemies, whether open or disguised, who plot to break unity. Those who oppose unity are always, in the final analysis, agents of the enemy (Hear, hear!). For you must not believe, my comrades and friends here in France, that our only enemies are on the battlefields. There are also enemies—and by no means the least dangerous—within our own territory. There are the Trotskyists who, by means of demagogic phraseology, seek to confuse our workers, to sow demoralisation in our ranks. There are the criminals of the P.O.U.M. who, having been exposed in Spain, maintian with a howl of rage that they found approval of their provocatory activities in working-class circles abroad.

It is the P. O. U. M,—ists, the Trotskyists, who for months fraternised with the rebels on the Aragon front; it is they who, when the enemy was developing his offensive in the North, provoked an uprising in Catalonia and broke the eastern front, helping Franco's plans when he sought to reach the Mediterranean coast.

Trotskyism—A Leprous Growth

And this leprous growth has its roots also in France. First among them is the traitor, DORIOT, who no longer troubles to camouflage his policy. He was recently in rebel territory in Spain,

where he grovelled before the executioners of our people.

Then there is MARCEAU PIVERT who breaks the unity of the Socialist Party by forming a self-styled workers' and peasants' party—a party which will be the meeting place and the support of all traitors, of all provocateurs and who will, like Doriot, drop his mask just as soon as he can no longer maintain his deception.

You must realise the fact that behind certain elements there is cleverly hidden the hand of the enemy. Of course, we know it, and naturally we fight it with all our strength. In spite of everything they still try to pursue their labours of demoralisation and the disintegration of our forces. But they will not succeed. If ever they attempt to stab the Republic in the back we shall know how to crush them implacably.

But while we fight in order to extirpate all enemies in our territory, we also know how to distinguish between the traitors and those who have been duped by the fascist butchers. It is for this reason that we, the Communists fully approve of the appeal which Premier Negrin has issued to those who are fighting against us but who are now beginning to realise that they are nothing but tools in the service of international fascism, that they are not fighting for a "great and united Spain"—as the traitor generals have told them—but against Spaniards who, arms in hand, are defending the independence of their country, while they are fighting for Italo-German fascism which seeks to turn our country into a colony.

For this reason, I appeal from this international platform—which will be heard in many countries—to all honest Spaniards who are fighting in the rebel camp, to tell them that it is their duty to unite with us in order to drive the invaders from our country, the soil of which they are befouling with their paws.

End the force of Non-Intervention

Men of liberal mind, throughout the world, help us...........Help us to break the circle with which they have surrounded the Government of the Spanish Republic. Help us by seeing to it that they shall at last recognise the right of our Government to purchase the arms it needs in its defence of peace. Help us to put an end to the sinister farce of Non-Intervention, thanks to which the enemy is permitted to receive guns, aircraft, machine-guns and every kind of war material, while the Spanish Republic is deprived of means essential for its defence. Demand the immediate withdrawal of the Italo-German fascist troops of occupation! Struggle for the opening of the frontiers! (Prolonged applause and cries of "Open the frontiers!)

Brothers of Czechoslovakia, we shall show you the road! Brothers of China, a thousand times glorious, carry on your struggle!

As for us, we shall not give in. We shall fight until the invaders are driven from our soil.

The call from the trenches of Spain

From the trenches of Spain, where peace is being defended, thousands turn their gaze enquiringly to us, awaiting your reply.

I know you hear the appeal of our people. And now, echoing the sentiment of our soldiers, our workers, our women, and even of our children—to-day as on July 18, 1936—and putting into my words the whole strength of my soul, the full conviction of my enthusiams, I say to you: "Spain will never be fascist!',

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